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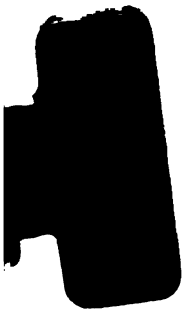

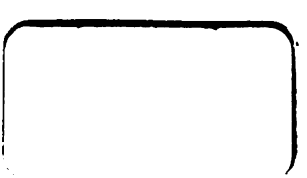

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NAPOLEON AT HOME

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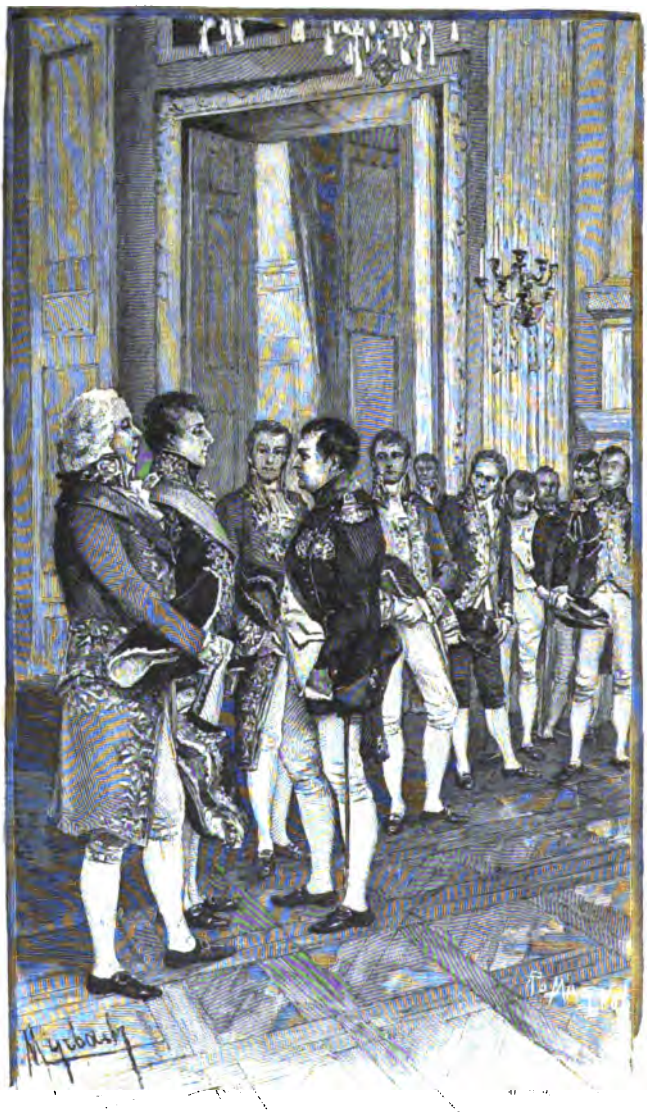

THE *LEVER.*

Frank T. Howard.

NAPOLEON AT HOME

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE EMPEROR AT THE TUILERIES.

7117

BY

FRÉDÉRIC MASSON

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES E. MATTHEW

WITH TWELVE ILLUSTRATIONS BY F. DE MYRBACH

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VII.

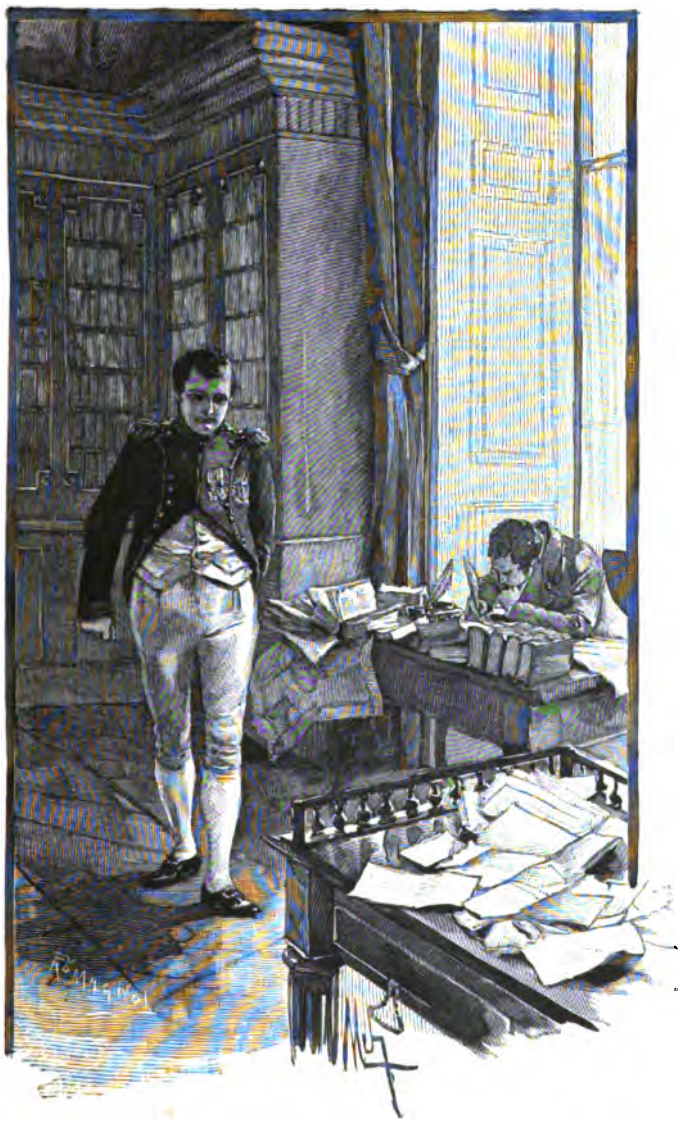
THE EMPEROR AT WORK.

THE Emperor has returned to his study; the doors of it are shut and well guarded, and no one can possibly enter. He has taken off his sword, which he has thrown on a chair, as well as his hat; and having sat for a moment on the sofa, to look again at the letters placed on the little stand, he has begun to walk backwards and forwards in the room. The secretary is seated at his little table in the recess of the window, his back towards the garden, where the curious often stand, looking at this shadow which passes and repasses.

The Emperor dictates. As he gets deeper into his subject, and concentrates his thoughts, his movement becomes more rapid; his words rush out, and he repeats a movement of the

right arm, which he twists, while he twitches the cuff of his coat with his hand. He gives himself no trouble to ascertain if the secretary can follow with his pen. That is his affair. The secretary cannot be expected to grasp all that is dictated literally, but he notes the characteristic expressions and the salient points, so as to reproduce the leading idea, doubtless in a form less full of imagery, and losing much of the heat of improvisation. Napoleon only looks to ideas, and the expressions which render them most forcibly are for him the best. He does not hesitate, therefore, to go to extremes in this first sketch, to blurt out a word plain and blunt, to add force to the energy of his ideas by an overstatement. In some of the rough drafts dictated by him one is sensible of the scansion which his walking gives to the phrase, the sudden stops at the end of the cabinet, and the jerking out of the words in his going and coming. We hear him speak, and the written words have the sound of his voice.

The pen of Meneval runs on without stop, in a very abbreviated writing, although almost intelligible, in which the names of men



AT WORK.

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only, replaced by initials, leave any cause for doubt. With other handwritings—Fain, Clarke, Deponthon, orderly officers, the chief of the staff —the foundation is always the same; there is the same faculty of finding the apt and characteristic word, the same lucidity of exposition, the same fertility of expression, the same simplicity in the construction of phrases. There is nothing more for the writer than the very easy work of compression, which is very evident when the dictation is compared with the definitive letters, all of which Napoleon looked at again and signed. (There are letters actually of his which Berthier signed by order, others which the secretary signed; but it is very unusual, and there is nothing to show that he did not also look through these letters.) This work consists in suppressing repetition of words, in toning down words a little too vigorous, in condensing phrases, and in removing the oracular appearance from what was written. It is so simple that any scribe of moderate skill can do it, and this explains how, although the Emperor had three private secretaries in succession, although he frequently employed Berthier, Maret, Duroc, in case of need the

aide-de-camp on duty, a prefect of the palace, an orderly officer, no matter whom—even a *valet-de-chambre*, if there was one who could write—it is impossible not to recognise his style, to discover by which secretary a particular despatch has been drawn up; to so great an extent the unity is preserved, the expressions are so identical; so completely, from one end of his life to the other, do the same processes of work produce the same results, whatever may be the instruments which he makes use of.

The Emperor, in dictating his letters, often had before his eyes the reports which had been addressed to him, or the despatches which he had to answer; but in many cases he acted *proprio motu*, and without any suggestion of the idea to him; it was original and personal to himself. Once conceived by him, this idea would be followed up in such a way as to receive all the developments of which it was capable. In the tangled skein of projects which he conceived; in the midst of that rush of documents and despatches galloping from all points of Europe in the wallets of couriers, which arrive every day to be spread out on his table, he never lost sight of that idea, and

made it his destiny. In the first place it is classed; it occupies one of the innumerable chambers of his brain; some event arises which allows the idea to receive its execution; the Emperor opens the chamber, and the idea comes forth as clear as when he conceived it. Every day, with the same ease, he opens ten, fifteen, twenty chambers: there is one for war, for each of his armies, for each of his regiments, almost for each of his companies; there is one for the Court and ceremonial, for the prefectoral administration, justice, public worship, bridges and roads. There is one for relations with foreign nations, as there are in the world both friendly and hostile states; there is one for each of the vessels of the fleet, one for each maritime town.

Let us take the letters of a single day; and let it be admitted that for that day, February 7th, 1810, for example, we have in the *Correspondence* all the letters he wrote. Here is a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which, day by day, hour by hour, he arranges the journeys of Marie Louise; all the details are anticipated, all the halting places ordered; here is a note for the Ministers of the Treasury and

of War, with a draft of the decree as to the arrangement of expenses, which is that of an expert accountant; a letter to the Minister of War on the expenses of Molitor's division in the Hanse town; a letter to the same pointing out, brigade by brigade, and regiment by regiment, what he calls the second movement of the army of Germany; a third letter on the occupation of part of Holland; a letter to the Grand Master of the University, which is a learned disquisition on the organisation of that body, and on its privileges. And no doubt we have here but the tenth part of the letters sent out.

The work of dictating letters is, however, possibly the least. Each of the Ministers hands in or sends his portfolio full of papers, and each paper which the Emperor reads, or has read to him, bears its answer on the margin. It is usually short, but so conclusive and so clear that no uncertainty can arise. He passes from one sort of work to another with the same ease as from sleep to wakefulness, and without pause, without hesitation, he goes from War to Public Works, from Foreign Affairs to the Navy, going into infinite detail, always striking the right note, whether it concerns an individual

or a principle, or whether from a particular case he makes a generalisation of principle.

He said one morning at his *lever*, while he was trimming his nails: "I was born and created for work, . . . not to handle the pick-axe. I am conscious of no limit to the work I can get through." That is true: he was not conscious of it from 1795 to 1814. In 1815 there was a slackening. He no longer sets to work with the same energy; he no longer knocks off the work in hand with the same superb ease of manner; there are, as it were, hours of depression; but up to that time he exhausts every matter which he takes in hand, and as many as come in his way. For each special knowledge is necessary; he possesses it. For each precedents must be found; he finds them. For each the future must be provided for; he provides for it. Details are of importance, but no detail escapes him. It is only rarely that he has occasion to have recourse to the archives of the Cabinet, still less to those of the Secretary of State. Everything is sorted and registered in his memory, and his memory is so completely under control that it always produces the information which he requires, at the moment

only when he requires it. He is not tormented by reminiscences, any more than he is worried by the necessity of recalling his recollections. It bursts forth without effort, without conscious force, and having turned off that tap, Napoleon opens another which flows forth like the first, and then another, and still another, without limit.

As to the ideas which arise in his mind, whether they are, or are not, destined to be realised, he likes to give them shape, and to carry on the fiction to the smallest details of execution. There are thus projects which one might believe to have been entirely settled, and which have been nevertheless only an amusement of the imagination. But as with him the imagination continually leads to the real, and his thoughts have a habit of being translated into deeds, he is not content with idle dreams. However improbable may be the fiction with which he amuses himself, it cannot be more so than his own fate, and this fiction only pleases him when he can—even in imagination—demonstrate to himself that the impossible can be realised, thanks to the practical means which he has discovered. It is like a game at which he plays ; a dangerous game, for by force of proving

that it is not impossible for him he comes to the point of wishing to prove it to others.

It might be supposed that these visionary schemes occupy his idle days: no such thing. In the first place there exists no day without toil; then it is often on days which are most crowded with work, active, current, which must be attended to, that we find these fictions appear; it is as though he wished to find distraction in them, to cast a little of the unreal into the midst of the surrounding realities, but in this very unreal he is only satisfied when he has found a means to realise it.

It has been too much said that Napoleon only signed his name and did not write himself. No doubt even these signatures make a considerable work, for he had no secretary authorised to sign as the kings had, and every one of his signatures was actually written by him, whether as at the foot of letters to sovereigns with the entire name Napoleon, or to dignitaries Napol or Nap, or to reports simply an N, the shape of which was varied to infinity. These signatures can be counted by millions, for the published *Correspondence*, with its 22,000 numbers, does not contain the hundred-thou-

sandth part of his letters, orders, and decisions, no decree, no officer's commission, no letters patent, no marriage-contract, no act of nomination or dismissal, none of the secret letters or letters of pardon, none of those pieces of paper or parchment which, every day, in that Empire which was Europe, went forth to reward or punish every grade of the different orders of rank, judicial, administrative, financial, military. This immense body had but one heart, in which all the blood flowed through all the veins, to be driven afterwards through all the arteries; the heart was Napoleon, and the blood was his mind always on the alert, which no one consulted in vain, and which was constantly putting itself in evidence by that visible sign, that flashing N, in which the crushed pen casts downstrokes around like a halo, in which, under the initial letter, the vigour of the stroke shows the power of will and marks the master.

But he did more than only to sign. An infinite number of postscripts are in his own handwriting, all the letters of great intimacy to his own family, to Joséphine and to Marie Louise, letters to sovereigns, an immense number of letters to generals of armies.

Whenever figures occur, he takes up his pen, and it is he himself who again and again does in the margin the additions and the subtractions; it is he who annotates, who indicates minutely the order in which the articles should be presented; who marks the diminutions and the increases, as much when it concerns the general budget of the State as the budgets of each of his Ministers, the budget of the kingdom of Italy, or of the grand duchy of Berg, or the budget of his household.

An estimate is presented to him in which, in different columns, are found stated the credits granted in previous years and the credits proposed to be expended. He discusses each item, writes down a smaller figure in the margin, makes the addition again, does it wrong, always in his own favour, and rounds off the total by reducing it again 50,000 or 100,000 francs. It is by this means that for his household, on an estimate presented amounting to 48,045,922 fr. 72 c., he succeeds in gaining 7,275, 060 fr. 18 c.

Any economy which he succeeds in making delights him; but to arrive at this economy he is obliged to take account of everything.

One morning he takes up the question of coffee. He ascertains that every day there are consumed in his household 155 cups of coffee, and he calculates that each cup of coffee costs him 20 sous—coffee is 5 francs a pound, and sugar 4 francs—which comes yearly to 56,575 francs. No more coffee in kind, but an allowance of money; every one is content except Joséphine's chambermaids, who have the means of making it up, and the Emperor saves 35,000 francs. Another day it is the washing which costs him terribly dear, and he has a tariff drawn up in which the price of each article is carefully settled, so that in the future fancy prices are abolished.

He does not tolerate those increases which each of the heads of service wishes to slip in; everything ought to be accounted for to the smallest details, and if he is not satisfied with the explanations given,—at once! a letter to the Intendant General and an inquiry. "It would be," wrote he, "a real abuse that some one could increase the wages of my household, when no general in my armies and not one of my Ministers has that right." But at the same time let them not attempt, by favouritism,

to dismiss one of his servants to put a *protégé* in his place! He knows who serves him, and who has served him, and if he learns that an injustice has been committed, the chief of the department has to look to himself. He does not understand why, because an old servant is ill or wounded, he should fall into misery; and for any one who was with him in his early days he has extraordinary gentleness. In 1809, the day of the battle of Landshut, the chief *maître d'hôtel*, Fischer, who for a long time had suffered from disordered intellect, was taken with an access of furious madness. It was necessary to send him back to France, and at Strasburg, where he had a fresh crisis, to place him in an asylum. The Emperor, who had had Fischer in his service at least ever since Egypt, would not allow him to be replaced, and always hoped for his cure. It was not till December 30th, 1812, that is to say after four years, during which Fischer was paid his full salary of 12,000 francs, that Napoleon consented to his retirement, and gave him a pension of 6,000 francs. This indeed was an extremely confidential servant; but in every rank it was

the same; and a poor wretch of a coachman who was always drunk, in spite of the Master of the Horse, was taken back three times, because he drove an ammunition waggon at the battle of Marengo. Any one who had been in trouble with him was to be honoured. On his return from the island of Elba, it was his order that those who had accompanied him in exile should keep the same places at the Tuileries which they had at Porto Ferrajo; and we know what he did at St. Helena for those who followed him.

Scrupulous and systematic with the money of the State, he was equally so with his pocket-money, which he called his petty cash, of which the private secretary kept the accounts. Almost every month, wherever he happened to be, at Paris or at Schönbrunn, at Berlin or at Madrid, at Vienna or at Smorgoni, he checks the outgoings and the amount received, does the addition and subtraction, and writes the result at full length, most frequently in this shape :—

"The receipt is 44,800, the expenditure 39,800, remains 5,000, plus the 15,000 of March past, which makes 20,000.

"N.

"*March 30th.*"

The private secretary makes a correction: "There is a mistake of 40 francs in the addition, which reduces the sum carried forward to 4,960." Most frequently the Emperor does not content himself with the date of the day when he signs it, he also gives the place, for his mind is precise and scrupulous. In the great game of battles he has learnt how important is not only the place and the day, but also the hour and the minute when a letter is written. There is anger when he receives a despatch wanting these particulars, and in his palaces he keeps up the habits which he has adopted on campaign.

The handwriting of Napoleon is bad—worse when the letter is of any length. In the postscripts it can generally be followed, and the figures are always perfectly plain. No doubt this handwriting, which from youth was badly formed, became still more irregular from short sight; but the characters of certain celebrated documents, which have been the most frequently reproduced in facsimile—the Act of Abdication, for example, and the letter to the Prince Regent —must not be taken as a type. They are written with a trembling and an agitation which

the situation explains. In general one succeeds in deciphering the every-day letters. The speech which the Emperor pronounced at the Champ de Mai, and which he wrote sentence by sentence with his own hand on separate pieces of paper, is perfectly clear. When Napoleon wished he succeeded in being legible, but there is no doubt that the necessary care fatigued him excessively.

What complicates matters is the orthography, often incorrect; partly Italian reminiscences, as when he substitutes ġ for c; for example, in *Cabinet*, which he writes *Gabinet* (and also *Gaffarelli* for *Caffarelli*), partly unconscious attempts at new ways of spelling, especially in proper names, which he spells as he pronounces them. He never misses writing *Tayerand* or *Tailleran* for *Talleyrand*. Every one pronounced it so at that time, and it was the tradition. For other names, even of those persons whom he knew best, his custom was the same; thus under his pen *Tascher* —the name of his wife!—becomes *Tachère*. As to *Meneval*, his secretary, he will have it *Menevalle*, for which there was no reason. It has been said that if once words, especially

proper names, have entered his memory with a certain orthographic physiognomy, although absolutely wrong, they are for ever inscribed under that form, which nothing nor nobody can change. Chaptal quotes some characteristic examples; he is astonished at them, but it is the contrary which ought to astonish. Except in the case of figures (budgets, dispositions of troops, etc.) Napoleon learned much more by the ears than by the eyes, and sounds had for him a special importance. During the Consulate, in a number of interviews which he had with competent men, he acquired the science of finance, of industry, of commerce, of administration, of foreign affairs. This in his case did not reach him by reading, but by conversation. He forgot nothing; but such as he thought he heard the words at first, so they remained for him. It was of no consequence; he might write as he liked and pronounce as he pleased—he knew how to make himself understood.

In comparison with what is dictated, the written matter forms a moderate part of what issues from the Cabinet. It may be said that what is written furnishes only a part of the

dictated matter. A much more important part consists of the private work with each of the chiefs of service. It is rarely that the Emperor holds a Council of Ministers, and it may even be said that, except in the evil days in 1813 and 1814, he never held one in the sense which is given to it now. By careful search there will perhaps not be found more than five Grand Councils with the dignitaries during the whole reign. There were councils of interior administration, councils of commerce, councils of bridges and roads, councils of engineers, councils of the household, all sorts of special and technical councils; but he never forgets that, according to the Constitution, the Ministers, whom he alone nominates, form in no respect a united body. Each of them, therefore, comes in turn to work with him; and after the Minister come the Directors-General, many of whom have powers more extensive than a Minister.

Outside the places which were purely decorative and which only gave rank at Court, on ceremonial occasions and on administering oaths of office, all offices require continual presence, an unwearied attention, and a custom

of audiences with the master. Now, do we form any idea what the administration of the Empire then amounted to?

The Prince Arch-Chancellor, Cambacérès, without having any ministerial office, is constantly consulted. He it is who, in the absence of the Emperor, centralises the work of the Ministers, directs the deliberations of the Council of State, takes measures when urgency requires. When the Emperor is present he is not contented to hold a great position and to possess one of the best houses in Paris; on every question he gives advice which has been ripely considered, which is not inspired by a wish to please, and which is worth carefully weighing; above everything, he is a man who acts according to law and is the maker of laws.

The Arch-Treasurer Lebrun, much consulted at first, and who more than any man in the world contributed to keep at a distance the untrustworthy financiers, whom he understood in a marvellous way, was during the Empire generally entrusted with the government of recently annexed provinces.

The other grand dignitaries seldom appeared, employed as they were the greater part of the

time abroad; but at all hours the Secretary of State appears, through whom pass all the acts concerning ministerial departments, all the decisions which the Emperor arrives at *proprio motu*, and all the signatures. Everything which has received its definite shape in the private Cabinet is sent off, registered, and classified at the office of the Secretary of State. There are copyists in numbers, people writing a fine hand, scrupulous clerks who would take to heart the responsibility of any delay or error of transmission.

With any other sovereign, under any other form of government, the Secretary of State would be the most important man of the Empire. With Napoleon he remains a head clerk, who ought to possess punctuality, order, and exactitude, but who is not asked to furnish ideas, nor even to develop the ideas of the master, still less to enlarge on them in conversation. The arrangement, excellent with such a man as Napoleon, is execrable when it concerns any other than Napoleon.

Various people occupied this post of confidence about the Emperor. One only filled it, because he brought to it, in addition to absolute

devotion and exemplary diligence, a complete, not to say active, submission. He had not to think for himself, but to gather up the thoughts of his master, and to take note of his acts. In this he excelled, being indefatigable, always ready, always attentive. Displaced and put at the head of ministerial departments he must have been less successful, for he brought to them just the qualities which were so precious to the Secretaryship of State. He had the honour of being hateful to M. de Talleyrand, who never ceased lancing epigrams at him. One especially is celebrated. "There is only one man more stupid than M. Maret," said Talleyrand. "Who is that, then?" asked an intimate. "It is the Duc de Bassano." This hatred is easily explained. Maret possessed two virtues which the Prince of Benevento could not tolerate—courage and fidelity.

The Secretary of State followed the Emperor on campaign, in his visits to the country, everywhere. At Paris he lived quite close to the Tuileries, on the Place du Carrousel, and was sent for every moment. It was he who had by far the greatest authority among the Ministers.

After him, the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, that little Regnier, formerly an advocate at Nancy, becoming Count de Gronau, and then Duke de Massa, and one of the most considerable personages of the Empire, although, in truth, beyond his participation in Brumaire 18th, one is unable to discover his merits; at least, he possesses exactitude and a taste for work. This was necessary, in order to give good justice to a hundred and thirty departments; to superintend the staff of more than five hundred tribunals of first instance, and of thirty-six Imperial courts; to introduce without jars in the annexed states the use of the Code Napoléon; to look after the interests of those who, in every place, make their living by justice; to regulate their privileges, and to punish their encroachments. Every pardon granted by the Emperor is guaranteed by a parchment signed by the Emperor. Every nomination above a certain grade is signed by him. No work of advancement is approved without investigations made by him. At the *Cour de Cassation*, for example, it is forbidden to appoint a magistrate without a presentment emanating from the actual chiefs of the Court.

Try to imagine after that what the portfolio of justice represents!

In foreign affairs all the despatches, wherever they come from, pass into the hands of the Emperor, who alone forms his line of policy. He talks over the despatches with Talleyrand, who in his turn talks them over with his subordinates, looks through them again, reproduces in them with singular skill the characteristic expressions of the master, and takes them back to the Tuileries. With the successors of Talleyrand the effort of Napoleon is still greater; Champagny understands badly, Maret does not understand at all. Champagny misrepresents the idea; Maret reproduces the words literally, which is worse. Talleyrand was a traitor, Champagny is faithful, Maret is devoted; but Talleyrand understands.

No doubt the correspondence on foreign affairs eighty years ago was much more moderate in volume compared with what it is at present. The posts were much less numerous, and still more reduced in number by the state of war; communications much less frequent; few or no affairs relating to private people; consulates few in number; hardly any

navigation. But, to follow up a negotiation, how much more attention and method was required, when from the despatch of a courier to his return at least a month passed, and when during that month the progress of events had completely altered the chess-board.

In the absence of the Minister the Emperor often received a sort of under-Minister, one of the Councillors of State of the office of Foreign Affairs, the keeper of the archives of the Department, M. de la Nautte d'Hauterive. D'Hauterive had the special mission of throwing light on the present by the past, of maintaining the tradition of French policy, and of seeking out precedents; he was for foreign affairs—with more authority, greater responsibility, and more honours—what Barbier was for the Catholic religion. As no one knows better than he does, he is suited to the part he plays; and even his physical appearance, his stature of five feet eight inches, his marked countenance, with long hair bristling and stiff, gives him an excess of authority. He imposes even on the Emperor.

It is related of d'Hauterive that one day he brought to the audience a report about a person of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. A woman's

life was in danger, a wife with several children. He begins to read. The Emperor gets irritated, and interrupts: "So you want to entangle me in petticoats? (*en quenouille?*) What do you mean?" And he snatches the report from the hands of d'Hauterive, and walks about the room brandishing the paper, and repeating, "*En quenouille! en quenouille!*" D'Hauterive, beside himself, pursued the Emperor, came up with him, and, taking back the paper, read the report to the very end. Napoleon, appeased, reproached himself, and merely said, "It may pass for once," and adopted the conclusions.*

Just the same in the matter of Gérard de

* This is the version given by Artaud, who, having been dismissed in times past, in consequence of a report made by d'Hauterive, afterwards became his biographer, and had his papers in his hands; but there is a version of the same incident which, while it leaves the attitude of the Emperor untouched, involves strangely the responsibility of d'Hauterive. According to Baron Pasquier, who was in a position to be well informed, this report had nothing to do with any person of the Faubourg Saint-Germain; but was on the question of ascertaining whether in the negotiation opened by Ouvrard with the English, Talleyrand was in complicity with Fouché. But d'Hauterive, who owed everything to Talleyrand, and who was his servant much more than the Emperor's, had entirely absolved his ancient chief, although he knew personally, without any doubt, that the Prince of Benevento had known to the smallest particular all the details of the intrigue, even

Rayneval, and in the question of the privileges of foreign ambassadors, d'Hauterive, like an old wild boar, followed his own course, stuck to his views, and Napoleon, convinced, ended by acquiescing in them. He is not the only one who thus gives the Emperor some home-thrusts. Decrès, the Minister of Marine, was in the habit of doing so. And who apologises? Napoleon. "I regret," writes he, "that you should have lost your temper with me; but in a word, when once the anger is over, nothing of it remains; I hope, therefore, that you feel no ill-will towards me." There is no doubt, then, that in this work, brain to brain, those who frankly resisted and supported their own views were not the less welcome, that liberty of discussion was complete, and that far from being offended by criticisms, even

allowing that it was not he who directed it. On the reading of this lying report, Napoleon might have snatched from his hands the paper which d'Hauterive took back, the reading of which he coolly finished. May we not say that instinct served the Emperor marvellously on this occasion, when he perceived the treason at once, although not clearly? And may we not add that, in allowing himself to be convinced by the theorist of foreign affairs, the man of integrity, whose integrity on this testimony is strangely put in question, he supplies an undeniable proof that he can take his advice?

strongly expressed, the Emperor yielded to arguments, and was not obstinate.

As to foreign affairs, it is not enough that the minister or the directors, agents coming and returning, are received and questioned. When they live at the Court of those sovereigns who belong to the family of Napoleon, they supply personal facts and a detailed account of what passes at their Court, and their correspondence in that case passes through the hands of the Grand Marshal, who on such questions enjoys the complete confidence of the Emperor. Duroc, also, is always on duty, not being able to repose for an instant, or to get out of harness. Every moment the Emperor asks for him; for, in addition to the direction of the household, on him falls the work of the "benevolences" of the Emperor, a part of the work of the Imperial Guard, a work of police, without counting the missions of all sorts which are entrusted to him.

The Minister of the Interior, besides the duties which remained attached to his department, and the enormous charge of the Conscription, all the details of which pass under the eyes of Napoleon, had, in the early days,

Public Worship, Public Instruction, Commerce, and Public Works; but he is assisted by Directors-General, all of whom work directly with the Emperor. Thus Napoleon works with the director-general of Bridges and Roads; with the director (afterwards the Minister) of Public Worship; with the director of Public Instruction, subsequently the Grand Master of the University; with the director of the Administration of the Communes; with the director of Mines; with the director of the Imperial Printing Office and of the Library. On each of these subjects it would be possible from his correspondence and his decrees alone to draw up a professional treatise, and his history will only come within the range of study when it has been ascertained how much he was able to do in each of these branches of administration.

About the Finances he was not content to ask questions,—and with how much detail!—of the two Ministers. He sees the Directors-General of Registration, of Excise, of the Sinking Fund, of Forests, of Customs. As to the Director-General of Posts, Lavalette, his old *aide-de-camp*, he receives him every day.

In addition to being means of communication, the Posts are News, are secrets of private people and of governments, the dark cabinet, that famous cabinet which every opposition stigmatises, and which every power makes use of.

Is that all? No! There are the two Ministers of War (War and the Administration of War), with their subordinates, and the Director General of Conscription; there is the Minister of Marine, the Minister of Police, and the four Councillors of State who assist him, the Minister of Manufactures and Commerce, the two Ministers of the Kingdom of Italy living in Paris, the Secretary of State of the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Major-General and the *aides-de-camp* in charge of the work of the Guard; and all, without exception, are summoned by the Emperor, all present their reports to him. He reads them, he discusses them, he reasons them out, and with a thorough knowledge of the matter he adopts or rejects the conclusions.

There is the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, with the *Maisons Napoléon*, the endowments, nominations and the rest; there

is the Grand Chancellor of the *Réunion*; the Grand Chancellor of the Iron Crown, even the Grand Chancellor of the order of the Three Fleeces; there are the military schools, there is the Inspector-General of *Gendarmerie*, and the Inspectors-General of Artillery and of Engineers; there is a Government General of Illyria, which forms a kingdom apart; there is Paris with its special magistrates, the Prefect of the Seine and the Prefect of Police, and its military chiefs; there is the Bank of France which he founded, and on which his attention is always active.

And then after these, the *habitués* of his *lever*, the regular attendants at his audience, there are the *Missi dominici* of all orders, orderly officers of the Emperor or of the Major-General, senators, councillors of state, auditors, prefects, magistrates, mayors, presidents of electoral colleges, *aides-de-camp* or orderly officers despatched by chiefs of armies, those armies at certain times scattered from the frontier of Russia to the Pillars of Hercules! And for all these, an audience! They have not to beg for it. They arrive full speed at the Tuileries to bring their despatches, and before

them, booted, splashed, covered with a week's mud even on the days of the most solemn ceremonies, the doors of the inner cabinet open at once. And after he has taken the letters of which they are the bearers, the Emperor interrogates them, has everything explained, allows of no reticence, and draws out the truth from them.

But the time! when and how does he find it? He has some to spare. There remains enough to make himself a journalist, and on the most trifling incident which happens in England, on the smallest attack against France in the English newspapers, he joins issue in those long articles in the *Moniteur* which are wanting in all the collections of his works, and are among the most telling pages which he wrote. Enough time remains for him to read the translations which Mounier brings him, translations of all the books, of all the pamphlets, of all the articles which are published throughout Europe. Time remains to listen to the petitioners who come to talk of their private affairs, of their debts and their ambitions, of their children and of their relations.

He takes interest in these private affairs;

it refreshes him, he likes to be talked to about them. As though he had not enough to do, and that sufficient applications were not addressed to him, he orders two auditors of his Council of State to be always in attendance from ten to twelve o'clock in the Salle des Maréchaux to receive all the petitions which it is wished to present. Again, he has a hand in the arrangement of marriages; he has a list drawn up of heiresses who are marriageable. He was in hopes of attracting them to Court, and uniting them to his officers; he makes the fathers come, to wit M. d'Aligre, to whom he offers Caulaincourt for his daughter, on whom he lavishes all his favours to obtain her consent, but who refuses very promptly and thinks no arrangement could be worse.

If the marriage which the Emperor desires is brought about, there are no limits to his generosity. There are a thousand instances of it. As to the constraint, just one instance in order to reply to a recent allegation.*

* *Histoire des Emigrés*, by M. Forneron, iii., 282. I should not have lingered to give an example of the credence to be placed in this work, if I had not seen it quoted lately as an original source in a recent book.

Napoleon, affirms a writer, compelled the Count de la Rochefoucauld to give his daughter *Adèle* to *Count* Aldobrandini, who was *forty-eight years of age*; the father and the daughter attempted to fly, but were afterwards compelled to yield. "We shall see the poor child resisting her haughty sister-in-law (Pauline) re-establishing the honour of the Borghese by her dignity and her virtue, and saving their embarrassed fortunes by a skilful administration for sixty years." Now *Prince* Aldobrandini was born in Rome in 1777; he was therefore *thirty-two* in 1809. M. Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld, who, on account of having married a cousin of the Beauharnais, had been made Prefect of the Seine and Marne in 1800, Minister in Saxony in 1801, Ambassador to Vienna in 1805, Ambassador to Holland in 1808, Count of the Empire in 1809, had absolutely no fortune whatever. His letters to the Ministers prove it. His wife, a lady of honour to the Empress, at 30,000 francs a year, begged like her husband, and, like him, was always getting something. There was no sort of intrigue which they did not put in motion to bring this marriage about, in which they gave no

portion to their daughter, while the future husband brought 100,000 *livres de rentes.* It was Napoleon who portioned Mdlle. *Françoise Constance* de la Rochefoucauld "with the palace formerly belonging to Her Imperial Highness the Princess Elisa, situated at No. 7, Rue de la Chaise, and 13, Rue de Grenelle, acquired by His Majesty the 3rd April, 1808, together with the furniture, valued at 800,000 francs." The Princess Aldobrandini, appointed lady in waiting to the Empress Marie Louise, at the same time that her husband was named first equerry, did not appear on the voyage from Cherbourg to have undergone any restraint. It is true that in 1814 she hastened to assert, by her presence at the ball given by Blücher in the Palace of Saint-Cloud, that the favours of the *Usurper* were not such as a person of her birth would retain any recollection of.

Marriages were his diversion; but he found time to make them well, and as we saw he bore his part in them. But he also found time to preside over his Council of State, and that took longer. The Council of State sat at the Tuileries, and the Emperor, to reach it, passed

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THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

through the State Apartments. Followed by the chamberlain of the day and the *aide-de-camp* on duty, he crossed the Hall of the Marshals and the Hall of the Guards, went down the grand staircase of the central *pavillon*, and remounted a straight and very broad staircase supported by figures of Silence and Meditation, statues by Daguessau and L'Hopital.

The hall, which was very large and decorated with pilasters and columns of yellow Siena stucco, had on its ceiling the great picture by Gérard of the Battle of Austerlitz. On the left the windows opened on the chapel, on the right on the Carrousel. At the end of the gallery, on a dais raised two steps, were three writing tables: that of the Emperor in the middle, the Arch-Chancellor to the right, the Arch-Treasurer to the left. Along the windows were little tables for the Councillors of State; at the other extremity of the gallery, near the entrance door, the desks of the Masters of Requests, in the windows the tables of the Auditors.

Napoleon, so assiduous during the Consulate that he attended the Council of State every day, so to speak, in 1809 still presided every

week at two sittings out of three. The sitting opened at half-past twelve; the Emperor generally arrived about half-past one, consulted the printed order of the day (*imprimé*), which was placed on his desk with the regular "distribution" (sometimes with a special distribution, as for example when d'Hauterive placed there his memorandum on the privileges of ambassadors printed for the Emperor alone), called on the matter which interested him and invited discussion.

This discussion was full, complete, and unfettered. "At the Council of State," says a witness, "far from being arbitrary in discussion, Napoleon introduced a liberty which went to the length of actual contradiction, which he himself provoked in order to ascertain everything which might oppose his views.

"Not that he did not get warm over it. In the discussion on the subject of the Bank of Saint-Georges, on which Corvetto had made a report, he allowed himself to go so far as to say to him, 'But, monsieur, you are then everybody's advocate in this question!' Corvetto was hurt, and made up his mind not to attend the reception on the following Sunday. Regnaud de

Saint-Jean d'Angély came to look for him. It made no difference—he would sulk, he would be lost in the crowd; but as soon as the Emperor perceived Corvetto he went up to him, and with his sweetest smile said, 'I am very glad to see you here, Monsieur Corvetto, to tell you how pleased I was with you at Wednesday's sitting. That is the way I desire members to explain themselves to the Council when I ask their advice.'"

It was not only Councillors of State, the great ones—those of the Consulate, those who had worked with him at the Civil Code, at the Code of Procedure, at the Code of Commerce, at the Penal Code, at the Code of Criminal Inquiry, who had organised the administration of the State in the way in which it still exists, who had cast that work of bronze which has withstood the duration of a century, and which seven revolutions have assaulted in vain; it was not only Tronchet and Portalis to whom he set up statues in the very hall of the Council of State, Merlin, Treilhard, Ségur, Réal, Fourcroy, d'Hauterive, Defermon, Boulay—the workmen of the first hour of the day—but it was the novices and the young whom he

encouraged to use liberty of speech and independence of intellect by one of those expressions, simply pronounced, which at once brought the reward and the accomplished duty in relation.

For instance, here is an auditor who presents a report on the polders of Holland in complete opposition to the advice of the Ministers, and the Emperor closes the sitting with the remark, "I am of the opinion of the *Master of Requests*, reporter." Another auditor is ordered to clear up Junot's accounts in Portugal. The Ministers of War, Finance, and of the Treasury, in order not to put themselves in the wrong with the first *aide-de-camp* and friend of the Emperor, made evasive reports. The auditor spares nothing, and goes to the bottom of the matter; but when he had sent in his work he became a little uneasy. It is the Emperor who makes it his business to reassure him. "Mr. Auditor," said he, "when a novice of my Council of State tells me what I have been unable to extract from three of my Ministers, he deserves to be kept in sight"; and in less than a year he made him Prefect, Baron of the Empire, and member of the Legion of Honour. There was, therefore, great anxiety on the part of these young

people to have the chance of taking part in the Emperor's sittings. M. Victor de Broglie, who at a later time was destined to express other opinions, wrote in 1810 to one of his colleagues: "Not a moment must be lost in asking for the right of being present during the ensuing three months at the Emperor's sittings. Eight of us have obtained it, and you have deserved it ten times over; but you must lose no time, for you perceive that with the present number it will become terribly difficult."

For the Emperor the Council of State was *his thought in deliberation*, while his Ministers were *his thought in execution*. Young men who had heard him think and who heard his thought in deliberation were, according to him, the only fitting persons to put it into execution; and this is why the Council was at the same time the highest school of administration, from which he expected to select all his agents brought up for civil pursuits. On that account the number of auditors constantly increased. That annoyed some of the old ones greatly, M. Victor de Broglie for example, who wrote to one of his friends: "Come, and you will see fine play; three hundred auditors of all shapes, of all ages,

of all sizes. They are everywhere; at the Post, at the Customs, at the Lottery, at the Prefecture of Police. The 'sections' are completely renewed, and there is only salvation for us at the bridges and roads. There is no possibility of being comfortable elsewhere." But this grouping in cliques, in which the former nobles would have shut themselves up if they could have had their own way, was not to the Emperor's taste. His wish was to amalgamate these various elements, of different origin, of opposite opinions, so as to make a single body imbued with his spirit, from which, according to their fitness, he could select prefects or diplomats, commissaries, magistrates, private secretaries, and inspectors of all kinds. For that reason he was not sparing of his time. "I was present," said a listener, whose testimony I add to that of MM. de Barante, de Barthélemy, and de Broglie; "I was present at sittings of the Council of State over which the Emperor presided for seven consecutive hours. His stimulating influence, the prodigious penetration of his analytical mind, the clearness with which he summed up the most complicated questions, the care he took

not only to suffer but to provoke contradiction, the art of increasing devotion towards him by a familiarity which possessed the knack of behaving towards his inferiors as though they were his equals, produced an enthusiasm equal to that which he exercised over the army. Men exhausted themselves with work, as they died on the field of battle. All those who came near him fell under the influence of *voluntary* submission. There is no imputation more calumnious than that he ruled by fear; as in the case of Cæsar, his power over men was the power of seductiveness."

We have here a witness; he bears the discredit of having remained faithful to the Emperor, of having solicited nothing from the enemies of France, of having accepted nothing from the kings against whom his patriotism revolted. He had, no doubt, less chance of being believed than Baron Pasquier, whose statement must nevertheless be put on record. M. Pasquier says that from the year 1808 the Emperor scarcely ever came to the Council of State except to harangue, to obtrude his wishes as laws, and that he no longer tolerated the smallest liberty of discussion. That the Emperor

should experience on certain days a wish to unbosom himself, to announce certain of his political designs to those who were called on to put them in execution, is not a matter of astonishment. But that he could not bear contradiction is false. Those who contradicted him he treated so badly that Berlier, for example, whom at the Council of State he found constantly in loyal opposition to his designs, was made by him a Councillor of State for life, a Count of the Empire, with a stipend of 20,000 francs, received from him the presidency of the Prize-Court, and was granted on one occasion 60,000 francs. It is said that he no longer put the decision to the vote; yet Molé, Mollieu, Gaudin, Champagny report numbers of resolutions taken by the Council while the Emperor was sitting at it. If there were resolutions and decisions, it was necessary that the votes should have been taken.

There is no doubt that new comers, those whose name, and the recollection of ancestors, often imaginary, had alone caused them to enter the Council, and those again who had been admitted as a consequence of the annexation of their original country to the Empire,

must have felt less freedom of speech, as they were courtiers by birth and education; but the spirit of the Revolution, as far as it was generous, noble, and proud, had among them its natural defenders, patriots who, sitting at the National Convention, had not faltered before any of the terrible responsibilities which they met with, and had saved the nation from the cupidity of Europe, and from slavery. These were the men to speak out. These it was that by preference and natural feeling—for they alone had the knowledge—Napoleon liked to consult, and when Boulay, Bertier, Réal, Regnaud, Defermon, Jollivet, Thibaudeau, Mathieu Dumas, had spoken, when those admirable Directors-General, all of whom were Councillors of State, Duchatel, Français, Bérenger, Pelet, Merlin, Bergon, Laumond, had given their advice, what light must they have shown to the others, those whose vanity was only equalled by their incapacity, who thought that Bonaparte was greatly honoured by having them on his Councils, and who were only waiting the opportunity to betray him. Between their interested testimony and that of the men who remained faithful to France, of which the

Emperor was the representative, we can make a choice.

The hours had struck in vain on the clock of the Tuileries, the sitting continued. The Emperor did not feel the want of eating, and repose for him was to pass from one kind of work to another. During the discussions he often looked at the Speaker with his small eyeglass; at times he wrote mechanically on the paper placed before him, repeating the same phrase indefinitely. One of these papers bears these words eight times, "Vous êtes tous des brigands" (You are all brigands); another, ten times, "Mon Dieu, que je vous aime" (Heavens! how I love you). Or else with his penknife he whittled grooves on the end of the arm of his chair. The great resource was snuff. Taking large pinches which he put to his nose, and having smelt them, allowed at once to fall on the ground, he very quickly emptied his snuff-box. It then became the duty of the Chamberlain, who was compelled to provide himself with three or four boxes, to substitute a full one for that which was empty. But that did not satisfy Napoleon; as soon as he saw or heard a Councillor open

his snuff-box, he made a sign to an usher, who went in search of the box and brought it to him. He took two or three pinches out of it, and then, without thinking, very often threw the snuff-box into the open drawer of his desk, which he shut at the end of the sitting, and turned the key. The snuff-box was then lost for ever; on that account the Councillors had what they called their Council boxes—boxes of pasteboard, worth about fifteen sous.

In his cabinet, or at the Council, Napoleon seemed to make it his duty to justify his remark: "I do not feel any limit to my power of work," and quite naturally he fancied that his fellow-labourers were formed like himself. One day, in the presence of one of his Ministers, looking in his private study for some notes on the little table intended for his secretary, he found and read out loud this beginning of a letter: "For thirty-six hours I have been unable to get away from the cabinet of . . ." The note was intended by the secretary for his wife, who lived near the Tuileries. "You see," said Napoleon, "that he finds time to write sweet things, and yet he complains!"

The story of Daru, "an ox for work" said the Emperor, is well known. Having gone to sleep over his papers at a night sitting in the Inner Cabinet, Napoleon woke him up and tried to upset him, Daru declaring that he had already spent three nights at work.

In spite of its trying nature his ministers stood this sort of life very well; of Justice, there was one Minister, Regnier, from 1802 to 1813; of War, from 1800 to 1807, Berthier; from 1807 to 1814, Clarke; of the Administration of War, from 1802 to 1810, Dejean; of Naval Affairs, from 1801 to 1814, Decrès; of Finance, from 1799 to 1814, Gaudin; of the Public Treasury, from 1801 to 1806, Barbé-Marbois; from 1806 to 1814, Mollien. At the Ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, the holders of the office changed a little more frequently; but at the Interior, it was not because the Ministers, with the exception of Crétet, were worn out by work, it was because they were incapable. It was the same after Talleyrand at the Foreign Affairs. No sovereign, on the contrary, no absolute sovereign, keeping the reins of government in his own hands, and not being a minor in

the hands of a prime minister, has so well understood and put in practice ministerial stability. If he insisted that those who served him should be laborious, it does not really appear that excess of work at all injured their health, for the greater part lived to see the overthrow of the Bourbon Monarchy, and that first revenge of the people returning to the Emperor, the Three Days of July.

It is he who takes the largest share of the work; he alone grasps everything; he alone, in the crucible of his brain, mixes and melts together all these materials brought from all parts; he alone, with his enormous appetite, swallows and digests that which crowds in from all the ends of the earth to supply his terrible hunger; he alone never halts, and, without fatiguing himself in the shafts, without panting at the ribs, without complaining of what he has to do, without feeling fatigue, he draws this car into which he has thrown haphazard slices of Europe. Under his unceasing effort the machine advances, and at what a speed! This road over which he sweeps along, always at a rapid pace, and which in a way he constructs as he advances, one would suppose

that it must, like those railroads constructed with feverish haste in the provinces of West America, be thrown almost by chance over abysses, driven through forests, laid down with recklessness, bolted together by chance, and which the first storm would carry away; it is a road broad and triumphal, all paved with granite, having on each side footpaths of bronze, and shaded for posterity by trees of thick foliage, which, from the fact that he has passed near them, seem the growth of a century.

Nevertheless, there are days when the machine stops all of a sudden. Nature imposes a pause—necessary, sudden, absolute. It is, as the people say, a "knock-off," an unfitness for all work, even for all amusement, the repose to which the over-wrought brain is driven, for hours together, as if worn out and incapable of any longer secreting thought. Then, without leaving the Palace, without even going out of his cabinet, he twists and turns about, stretches himself on the couch, sleeps, or pretends to, sits on his secretary's desk, or on one of the arms of his chair, rocks backwards and forwards on it, talking to him

incoherently of his projects, of his health, of his manias, of his past life. He rubs his ears, slaps softly his shoulder or his cheek, annoyed to see him going on with his work. Or else he runs through the shelves of his library, gives his opinion of one and another as he passes along, stops at Corneille or Voltaire, takes down a volume and declaims a passage —especially on the Death of Cæsar. Or else he sings, with a strong voice, very out of tune. He sings snatches of romances, of old operas, of the *Devin au Village*, sentimental nonsense out of the *Almanach des Muses*; or else, if in a serious mood, hymns of the time of the Revolution—verses of the *Chant du Départ*. He rarely keeps to the melody, and repeats the same words for a quarter of an hour. He is especially partial to a romance, of which he only knows one verse :—

"Oui, c'en est fait, je me marie . . ."

and a hymn beginning with these words :

"Marat, du peuple le vengeur . . ."

the rest of which he does not know. Sometimes, on these days, he amuses himself in making seals on the envelopes which Meneval

has prepared. But it is a dangerous game. In 1809 he mistakes the envelope, and sends to the Emperor of Austria a letter written to the Emperor of Russia, and was very glad to be able to catch up the porter and find an excuse to take back the document. From that time he gave up this amusement. Besides, from 1810 he did not wish to enter into competition with his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, who made his own sealing-wax, and professed to make the finest seals in the world. When the Treaty of Lunéville, which cost him so dearly, was presented to Francis II. for ratification, the only thing he could see to find fault with was the bad wax which had been used in France to seal it with; and he showed with pride that which he had made himself.

At other times Napoleon went off to the chase, preferring hunting to shooting; for it was the desire for exercise which was the inducement in hunting, and what he principally sought for was physical fatigue, which was a relaxation to the brain. Occasionally, but this was on very rare occasions at the height of his power, frequent only during the winter

of 1813, he went, accompanied by the Grand Marshal, or followed by an *aide-de-camp*, to visit some monument in course of construction, or simply to walk about Paris. These excursions had a political object—in the same way as the increased frequency of the hunt, particularly when he returned from a campaign, seems to have the purpose of carrying him off again to the war, or, in his latter days, is a direct answer to the English newspapers which made out that he was dying and incapable of taking horse.

Once again, hunts, walks, excursions form an exception in his days. If, at evening, he goes to sleep at Malmaison or at Saint-Cloud, having completed his work and finished his task, it is with the object of having a breath of fresh air in the morning, and of installing himself in a tent pitched on the little bridge, which joined his apartment with the park, to read his despatches. He loves working in the open air, and if he had a certain dislike for the Tuileries, it was because there he could not even open a window, that there is not even a slip of garden to take a turn in between two dictations, or to quicken his thought. He continued to love the

fresh air; he who dated his letter to Matteo Buttafuoco *from his cabinet of Milelli*, that grotto where the sight loses itself over the Gulf of Ajaccio, the Iles Sanguinaires, the blue immensity favourable to dreams.

VIII.

THE DINNER.

Six o'clock had struck long ago, and, as often happened, Napoleon had scarcely seen his wife. Now and then he went down to the Empress by the little dark staircase which communicated between his apartment and that on the ground-floor, and remained a few moments. If it was at the time of her toilette, he amused himself with hindering the lady's maids, with mixing up the jewel-cases, with discussing the way she was dressed; if it happened to be breakfast-time, and Joséphine, according to her habit, had a certain number of ladies whom she had invited at table, he put questions, insisted on answers to them, and, according to the humour he was in, showed himself too friendly, or not friendly enough, and then suddenly went upstairs again to his work. With Marie Louise, from his marriage up to the time of the birth of the

King of Rome, he felt constrained to breakfast at a fixed time; but as soon as he could he regained his liberty, to the great pleasure of his wife, who was now able to prolong the meal as much as she liked. In her case he felt himself obliged, in the course of the day, to make more frequent visits; but he did not find in her company the relaxation which he naturally met with in that of Joséphine. Marie Louise was unable to go back to that past time which was fruitful of recollections in common, to draw out that unerring memory, that knowledge of persons and things, that habit of getting information out of visitors, and of becoming acquainted with the trifling details of society, the little scandals, and all those matters which a woman has the knack of learning from her acquaintances; for she scarcely knew, and continued to ignore, the whole external world at the Tuileries as she had done at Schönbrunn.

Therefore, although she was an archduchess, the Emperor, after he had given her a good kiss and called her "his good Louise," after he had looked at her embroidery and her painting, had even listened to an air on the pianoforte, sat down in an armchair, and as it generally

happened, as soon as his thoughts were unoccupied, he took a short sleep. Then, waking up suddenly, he kissed "his good Louise" afresh and returned. That which he scarcely tolerated from Joséphine, that she should enter his study, he sanctioned occasionally in Marie Louise; but he managed to give her to understand that the visit must be short. His son alone was a privileged person. He took the child on his arm whilst he was giving his signature, walked up and down with him while he dictated, allowed him to handle his papers, play with his cards and with those blocks which he had made for his own use to show the manœuvres of troops, which to the child seemed only wooden soldiers, like his playthings. But that was so quickly over, and he had for so short a time the happiness of being a father! Some months of the winter of 1813, some weeks of 1814, that was all that he saw of his son when he was old enough to know him, to prattle to him, to smile at him, to reciprocate that passion which he felt for him.

In fact, Napoleon did not like, and did not allow, any one to come and interfere with him during his hours of work. If he wished to give

the most positive proof of his affection for any person he started the proposition that for him he would even leave the Council of State. "If while I am at the Council," said he to Roederer, "Hortense asked to see me, I would go out to receive her. If Mme. Murat asked me, I would not go out." Let us not take him at his word on this point; he would not go out for either one or the other; but the supposition serves to register a low water-mark of his feelings, and nothing appears to him to show it better.

If the work which gave him a constant feeling of the possession of power absorbed him so much that all preoccupation of the feelings disappeared, need we be astonished that he imposed the same silence on his physical wants? One is compelled to ask if he had any such regular and urgent wants. At least he had no fixed time for satisfying them. He had control over his stomach, or rather he forgot that he had one, and ate when there was something to eat and because there was something to eat, in an absent manner, and thinking of the work which he had laid aside and was anxious to take up again.

Six o'clock was the regular time for dinner, and before six o'clock struck Joséphine, with an accurate punctuality which never failed, and which was one of her virtues, waited all ready for them to come and tell her. Her toilet, one of the favourite occupations of her day, had taken much of her time, and was at least the third she had made since the morning; but this was her happiest effort. Her hair dressed with flowers, pearls, or precious stones by the only artist whom she judged capable of understanding her figure, the inimitable Duplan, she was generally attired in a very low dress of velvet, of satin, or of embroidered tulle. She had a choice, for in her wardrobe, without counting State robes, she had in an average year more than six hundred dresses, and had a hundred to a hundred and forty made for her. To dress in this way there was no necessity for a reception or a theatrical performance at Court, for after 1806 there was one every other day. She loved to dress for herself like a true woman, and it sufficed to have the Emperor as the public, or even her looking-glass. Besides this, Napoleon had become very hard to please in such things; he had become used to this

refined elegance, truly exquisite, of which Joséphine every day offered him a model. He had his own taste in dresses, his preference in colours, even beyond public policy, which led him to wish for silks and velvet only at his Court, because Lyons would reap the benefit; he had a horror of black, and even of dark colours, and for everything which was not fresh, new, and bright. It accorded with his spirit of order and method to see striking dresses, thought that lively shades adorned a drawing-room, and gave it an air of richness. In the same way his eyes had become habituated to the *rouge* which Joséphine in the latter years of her reign really abused; for she got to the point of using a sort of preparation of white and red, such as that of the actresses to stand the footlights. At close quarters it was, without doubt, too coarse; the crude whites clashed with the false reds, and gave the Empress a theatrical appearance; but from afar, when she passed by in a procession, it assured her success, preserved that appearance of imperishable youth which was borne out by the infinite elegance of her figure, the suppleness and ease of her

movements, the prettiness of her round and plump feet, clad in satin shoes without heels, and which alone would have given the lie to her certificate of birth—that certificate falsified in the Imperial Almanack, so as to take off at least six years.

Joséphine, then, waited. Most frequently seven o'clock struck before they came to inform her, sometimes eight o'clock; now and then eleven o'clock. The Emperor had forgotten that he had not dined, and no one had dared to remind him. Marie Louise would have dared, for she was not the woman to be put out of the regular way, and although she had taken a hearty lunch in the afternoon, she liked to sit down to table at the stroke of six. For her Napoleon forced himself to be punctual, and it was rather she who, as on other occasions, made him wait.

There was no regular dining-room, and the Emperor, who, at the Tuileries, from the year 1806, dined every day, except Sunday, alone with the Empress, gave orders as to the room where the table was to be set out, whether in his apartment or in that of the Empress. He gave instructions at the same time as to the

persons who were to serve it. Up to the Empire it had been the duty of the Mamelukes; but when the household was organised the service of the table of the Emperor and Empress was assigned to the pages, who handed to their majesties the plates which they received from the footmen, who took them from the *maître d'hôtel.* It was the Emperor's *maître d'hôtel* who put on the dishes and cut up the viands if the dinner took place in the Emperor's apartment, the *maître d'hôtel* of the Empress if they dined with the Empress. In the Emperor's apartment the table was most usually set out in the *Salon de service* of the apartment *d'honneur.*

All the articles necessary for laying the cloth were brought by footmen. The arrangers of the table, after having spread the cloth, placed at the spot where Their Majesties would sit a napkin, which fell forward for at least half its length, and was folded back over the knives and forks, and covered them entirely. The dinner consisted in 1810 of one soup, some beef, of one remove, of one flank, of four *entrées*, of two roasts, of two *entremets*, of two salads, and of a dessert of eighteen dishes.

The table was arranged for six persons, and the cellar supplied in due course six bottles of Chambertin, a half bottle of sweet wine, and a half bottle of liqueur. The number of dishes always remained about the same. There was simply added for Marie Louise, who was devoted to pastry, two extra dishes of confectionery, and one extra from the kitchen. The dinner was never served *maigre* except on Good Friday.

The *menus* drawn up by the *maître d'hôtel*, under the supervision of the Prefect of the palace, were not of a high style. In one of them which has been preserved faults are to be found which certainly could not have been committed by Cussy, who was Prefect of the palace only in 1812, and who was one of the best judges of his time. Saint-Didier, who was often occupied on missions to his father-in-law, Matthieu Dumas, knew little about it; M. de Luçay, the first Prefect, was constantly ill, and Bausset, although he had pretensions, was, with his enormous stomach, only a gross feeder; thus the two soups, a *purée* of chestnuts, and a macaroni soup are too much alike; after rump of beef, garnished with

vegetables, and *brochet à la Chambord*, as a remove, after the four *entrées*, filets of partridge *à la Monglas*, filets of wild duck *au fumet de gibier*, fricassee of fowls *à la chevalière*, and mutton cutlets *à la Soubise*, appear as roasts, a fowl with cress, and a quarter of lamb. Now, in those days a quarter of lamb would never have passed as a dish of roast. The four *entremets*, a moulded jelly of oranges, a coffee cream *à la française*, a Genoise decorated, and gaufres *à l'allemande*, contain nothing enticing; and the vegetables, cauliflowers *au gratin*, and turnip celery with gravy, do not show any invention.

In France, up to a hundred years ago, even up to forty years ago, a number of dishes at least equal to these sixteen dishes which appeared on the Emperor's table, were served in the most ordinary private houses. The four *entrées*, the two roasts, the four *entremets* were strictly according to rule. At the dinners given by Cambacérès sixteen *entrées* and sixteen *entremets* were served. At the first dinner of Louis XVIII at Compiègne, we find besides four soups, four removes, four great dishes, four great *entremets*, and thirty-

two *entrées.* All of them appeared on the table; it was in June 1810 at Clichy, at the house of Prince Kourakin, that the first dinners *à la Russe* were served, where only the dessert and the flowers were visible; all Paris talked about it.

With the Emperor matters were already simplified: the *entrées* and the *entremets*, the removes and the roasts, were all served at once, and were only replaced by the dessert. The result was that Napoleon, in a fit of absence, partook of any dish which happened to be before him, which might contain some sort of cream or jelly, before the *entrées* had been handed to him. Besides, with the continual delays, which more often than not put off the dinner to between seven and eight o'clock, the cooking showed signs of it; they had had to renew the boiling water in the dish warmers every quarter of an hour, and the sauces no less frequently; and, except the roast, the dishes served were the dishes eaten. Fowls were put on the spit every quarter of an hour, so that one might be presented which was eatable. On the famous day when dinner was at eleven o'clock, twenty-three fowls had been put on the spit in succession.

The Emperor never complained that what he had to eat was bad. He did not notice it. Nor did Joséphine; she had no love of eating, one may even say no necessity for it. From this point of view she was marvellously matched with Napoleon, and she had as much as she required in the fifteen minutes which he took over his dinner. He devoted even less time to it at the beginning of the Consulate, but it was represented to him that his dinners were too short; they reported to him the epigrams of Count Philip de Cobentzel; he took the hint, prolonged it by some minutes, and as the observation was made that he had become less expeditious, "It is already the corruption of power," he answered. But it was no doubt as much in order to avoid over-long dinners as from a wish to adopt monarchical etiquette strictly, that he ceased from 1804 to invite any one to his table while he was at the Tuileries. In his visits to the country, and even the Elysée was so considered, he relaxed this severity, but it was at the risk and peril of the guests, who were not to expect to make good cheer. Napoleon, in fact, could not constrain himself, even on great occasions,

to undergo an infinite number of dishes and the slowness of service. Wherever he might be, after the first course he asked for ices and left the table. He had a passion for ices, although he did not have them served in the general way at dinner; but he often took them during the night; it was his treat, and a means of giving himself tone when he was tired. He also drank very cold water, and was particular about it.

During dinner, at which the Prefect of the palace on duty was present, on most days the Emperor still worked; it was the time which he most generally assigned to his librarian to come and tell him all about the books which had lately come out; frequently he made him read to him translations of newspapers and pamphlets; or else he summoned the Grand Marshal to give him his orders. Officers arriving with news entered and handed their despatches. The meal, the short meal of a quarter of an hour, did not interrupt his labour, and the pleasures of the evening gave him no concern.

IX.

THE EVENING.

THE last morsel was scarcely swallowed, and it was often of an *entrée*, than he returned with the Empress to his *salon*, to which the Prefect of the palace conducted him. A page brought a cup into which the *chef* on duty poured out coffee; the Empress took the cup, put sugar into it herself, and gave it to the Emperor, who without that would have forgotten to sweeten his coffee. At the beginning of the Empire he was very willing to give audiences at this moment. The grand officers entered his *salon*, explained matters, then the Emperor, going out with them, found in the gallery the persons who were waiting for him, and made the tour of the circle, speaking to every one. Accurate testimony exists of this fact, but the custom was soon abolished, and after Austerlitz was no longer

COFFEE.

thought of. After Austerlitz, without any delay, the Emperor often returned to his cabinet and set to work again, resuming that walk which with him seemed to quicken his ideas. Most frequently however, after dinner, if the meal had been taken in the apartment of the Emperor, and if there was no company in the private apartments, the Empress went down to her own rooms, to which the Emperor followed her after a few moments, and asked either for the *entrées* or for the *service*, generally the *service*, for under that denomination were included all those who were in any way entitled to be ranked among the honorary attendants.

At first the officers of the day in waiting on the Emperor and Empress, that is to say, the *aides-de-camp*, the chamberlains, the equerries, the officers of the hunt, the ladies of the palace, all those who were under obligation to be at the palace constantly, in order to do duty at any time as the sovereign's suite in cases when he was pleased to go out, or to introduce in his *salon* those personages favoured with an audience, in a word to receive his orders, dined together at the table

of the Grand Marshal; but in proportion as Napoleon shut himself up more and more in his imperial residence, and raised still higher the barriers of etiquette between himself and ordinary beings, his table at the Tuileries was exclusively reserved, with the exception of Sundays, for himself and his wife. The Grand Marshal was therefore charged with the duty of giving state dinners and of presiding at them, of receiving the ambassadors, the grand dignitaries, the grand officers of the Empire, the general officers, even the Princes of the Confederation. His apartment of the Pavilion of the Children of France was so luxuriously decorated, that Count d'Artois, who occupied it in 1814, exclaimed: "What! it was an officer of the Court of Buonaparte who occupied this apartment where we are now! That is incredible! Would you believe that I have heard said a hundred times over that nothing was to be made of the Tuileries, and that it was nothing but attics!" And the dinners of fifteen to forty courses were on a par with the apartment.

When the table of the Grand Marshal was set up on this footing, the officers of the

household had to go a notch lower, and they were distributed between four different tables, —five when the governess of the Children of France was appointed. The table of the Lady of Honour, over which Mme. de la Rochefoucauld ought to have presided, but which she did as seldom as possible, was meant to provide for the persons in attendance on the Empress; but the ladies of the palace avoided the duty, and as they were free at five o'clock, were in a hurry to return home to make some pretence of rest, for they had to be back at the palace in full dress at the stroke of seven.

The officers in attendance on the Emperor dined at the table known as that of the Officers of the Household, over which presided either a Grand Officer of the Crown, or, in his absence, the first Prefect of the palace. These two tables were each calculated for fifteen persons on ordinary occasions, and at dinner there were served: two soups, beef, two removes, six *entrées*, two roasts, six *entremets*, four *hors-d'œuvres*, two salads, and a dessert of sixteen dishes.

Still lower was the table known as that of

the officers of the guard, at which the orderly officers, the officers of the guard, the pages on duty, and the grooms of the chambers took their meals.

Then came the table of his Majesty's secretaries, laid only for four places, to which no one could be admitted who was not employed in the Cabinet. The secretaries, besides, led, as we have seen, quite a separate existence, and although they possessed the *entrées*, never appeared in the *salons*. The orderly officers equally did not appear, and in their intermediate position were not considered as part of the *service*.

From 1806, during the very few winters which the Emperor passed in Paris, there was an assembly every other day; on the other days, if the Emperor only asked for the *entrées*, the two ladies of the palace remained *tête-à-tête* in their drawing-room. There were some who became furious, and went away and became ill, when Napoleon, who had noticed their giddiness, asked for the *service*. As far as he was concerned this was in no respect premeditated, it was simple inadvertence; but in courts everything is a matter of suspicion, and an expected

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few courtesies to one and another, set to at backgammon, at which she played with marvellous skill, and summoned as partner some grand dignitary, or in his absence one of the chamberlains or her gentleman of honour. At other times it was whist, especially on the days of assemblies; but whist amused her less, and it was rather from complaisance than pleasure that she took a hand at cards. Besides, at the Tuileries they never played for money. As markers, counters were thrown on the table; counters specially designed by Denon and engraved by Gayrard, with representations of good and bad fortune. Napoleon now and then sat down at one of these tables, and called one of his sisters, or some lady of the palace, to make up his party, or rather to talk. In a second *salon* the other ladies played at loto. There was but little conversation. The men standing around wished to have the air of being interested, did not chat, but confined themselves to the exchange in a low voice of some everyday remark.

Napoleon often, without touching cards, went up to the ladies, who, standing up, awaited his good pleasure. He chatted an instant with

the most intimate, or rather spoke to them, told them how the toilette they were wearing suited them, or amused himself by putting questions to them. But as soon as he became Emperor there was an end of those friendly evenings which he enjoyed at Malmaison, an end of charades, reading aloud, short stories related by each in turn, musicians called in to play some melancholy piece in the semi-obscurity of the lights, veiled with gauze; an end of the games of *vingt-et-un*, in which the First Consul, keeping the bank, laughed at his own cheating and rallied the losers; an end of those flights of rough gaiety with men, all of whom as his companions-in-arms had to that time kept up not the tone of courtiers, but the privilege of true friends; an end still more and for ever of the chats with some lady whom he had known when quite a child, and whom it pleased him to tease. Now he is Emperor; he has a court; and in his, as in every other, dulness reigns more than he does himself.

Most frequently, even on the days of reception, when there was no absolute obligation for him to remain, or when he did not at once find some one to talk to quite to his taste, after a

few turns in the *salon* he went upstairs again to set to work, unless he went to some theatre out of doors with the Empress,—a thing which rarely happened from the time when the theatre of the Tuileries was constructed; or unless there was a performance in the large hall of the Tuileries, or in the smaller apartment, or a concert in the hall of the Marshals, or a small concert in the Empress's rooms. As for diversions, the latter was the only one which was acceptable to him; music, and especially vocal music, enchanted him.

Sometimes he went to balls given by one of his sisters, or one of the ministers, especially when the ball was masked; but often, even after he had promised to go, the work which he had begun prevailed.

There was a fine ball, given by the Minister of Marine, on February 23rd, 1806. At the entrance were two couriers holding lighted girandoles, which they were to cross as soon as the Emperor arrived; under the gate the porter had other girandoles, which he was to carry before His Majesty. An immense number of people were invited, and the six *salons* of the Minister were full of people whom Napoleon

knew, for the list had been submitted to him. It made no difference; he made an appointment with the Minister of Finance for eight o'clock in the evening. "It will be time enough to go to the ball at ten o'clock," said he. At eight o'clock, therefore, they were both scrutinising the budget. About midnight there was a scratching at the door of the cabinet; it is a page dispatched by the Empress, who sends word that the ball is charming, and that the Emperor is impatiently waited for. "All in good time," replied he, in a loud voice. "Tell the Empress that I am at work with the Minister of Finance. We are coming." An hour after another message; the same answer. He continues to work. The clock strikes.

"What o'clock is that?"

"Three o'clock, sire!"

"Ah, good God! It is too late for us to go to the ball: what do you think about it?"

"That is quite my view."

"Then let us each go to bed. Well," added he gaily at the moment when the Minister was leaving him, "many people think that we pass our lives in amusing ourselves, and, as the Orientals say, eating sweetmeats. Good-night, Minister!"

No distraction, no pleasure, no gratification of the senses prevailed over work. Many anecdotes are known which prove it. And yet, when he does amuse himself, it is unreservedly. He danced, in private, at least up to 1807, but only country dances; the waltz, which he tried to learn in 1810, at the time of his marriage with Marie Louise, made him giddy. His very moderate attainments as a dancer, which he owed to his teacher at Valence, M. Dautel, led him to prefer before everything a figure which was danced at the end of balls, and which was called the *Grand Père*. It was the cotillon of the period, a cotillon which opened with a promenade as long as the leading couple wished, and which continued with figures arranged by them; the lady seated in an armchair, the dancers on their knees, cradles made with the arms, any pretty ideas which came into the mind. "I shall return for the *Grand Père*," said he; and as a matter of fact he often did so.

If he went to the play it was only to see one act; most frequently on those occasions he made his appointments for nine o'clock, and he kept them punctually. If he stayed longer,

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AUDIENCE BEFORE THE *LEVER*.

it was only till ten o'clock, which was the usual hour of the official *coucher*, which corresponded with the *lever*, but was much less important and less numerous. The chamberlain handed to him the list of persons who were in the first *salon*, introduced the *grandes entrées*, and then the *service*. The Emperor gave his orders briefly, and then retired into his interior apartment, into which he now and then took one of his *aides-de-camp*, to chat a little longer, and, throwing off his clothes in a careless way, undressed, assisted only by his *valets-de-chambre*. Often, after he had gone to bed, he asked for the Empress to come and read to him, or else he chatted with one of his most trusted friends. Sometimes he then went to sleep; the story is well known of Talleyrand passing a whole night on a sofa, the Emperor having dropped off in the middle of a conversation. But it was very exceptional, almost without example, that he slept all the night through, or that the whole amount of his sleep exceeded three hours. When he woke up, even suddenly and against his wishes, he 'was as much himself again as if he had been awake. "Presence of mind after midnight is so complete with me," said

he, "that if I am woke up by sudden circumstances, I am wide awake; I get up, so that no one can guess by the state of my eyes if I have just been asleep, and my dictation is as fresh as at any given moment in the day."

One night he ordered d'Hauterive to come and work at eleven o'clock. D'Hauterive is punctual; but an hour after midnight he was still not admitted. All the people about the *château* had made their arrangements for the night, and were asleep. D'Hauterive has the *aide-de-camp* on duty awakened, and he goes in to Napoleon and asks for orders; he is in bed, there has been a misunderstanding, it must have been for to-morrow at eleven o'clock. But is it eleven in the morning or at night? The *aide-de-camp* returns and receives orders to introduce d'Hauterive. Napoleon is seated on his bed, in his dressing-gown, with a bandana on his head. He is perfectly gracious, makes the chief of division sit down, takes the papers, reads them, puts questions, discusses the answers, and dictates several despatches. He did not show a moment's impatience nor annoyance at having been twice awakened in succession.

In the general way, after three hours of sleep, of sleep which was sound, perfect, and voluntary, in profound darkness, for he could not stand any light at night, and the faintest glimmer of the smallest lamp was enough to prevent him sleeping, he rang for his *valet-de-chambre* who was sitting up, put on his dressing-gown and his drawers with feet, and went into his cabinet. If he had no settled object to work at he did not have his secretary fetched, but sat down at his writing-table, and made notes on the reports of his Ministers. It was his hour for figures, for the returns of the situation of his armies, those returns which were to him the pleasantest books of his library, and which he read with the greatest pleasure in his moments of leisure. At that time, in the deep silence of the sleeping palace and of Paris at rest, he stored up in his memory each of the units which formed his armies; man by man, squadron by squadron, battery by battery, he reckoned up his soldiers; he followed them along the roads of Europe; he knew up to a given point their resting-places and their halts; he learned even their names.

But if it was a question of work of long duration, of letters to write and of plans to develop, he had his secretary awakened, and, continuing to walk up and down, with his hands behind his back, dictated. Often, in the middle of the work, he had chocolate and ices brought in—never coffee, which he only took at meals—or even something more substantial, for every evening a sort of mixed meal was prepared, consisting of a roast fowl, of two *entremets*, of dessert, and of a half-bottle of Chambertin. He invited his secretary to share his collation, and beginning to talk, opened his mind as to the future, and amused himself by thinking over his dreams out loud. Often, when he had taken an ice, he asked for a bath, which was always kept ready to turn on; and whether he lay down again after the bath, or whether he remained up, he never exceeded six hours of sleep.

Allowing that out of the twenty-four hours he devoted three to meals, to spectacles, to women, and to diversion, which is without doubt in excess of the truth, there remain fifteen for work—eighteen, said Roederer, who knew him well; for he worked everywhere—while dining,

at the ball, at the theatre. Napoleon was the man of his time, and no doubt of all time, who gave the least to the body and the most to the mind. This does not explain the importance of his work, but it allows us to form an opinion of its vastness.

X.

SUNDAY.

IT required very exceptional circumstances to induce Napoleon to interrupt his work during the week, or to allow himself any distraction or change of his usual habits of life. It was only when he felt the physical want of violent exercise, such as the chase; or when he recognised the necessity of showing himself to the people, and of awakening impressions in the nation which were tending to get weaker; or when curiosity prompted him to visit some building which he had ordered, or to satisfy himself about some great operation of road-making which he had projected, or to make personal inquiries as to the state of public feeling, and to make an *incognito* tour in his capital, following the example of the Calif of Califs, accompanied by Duroc only—his Giafar. Such fancies are

with him of the rarest occurrence, and in the usual way it is a sedentary and recluse life which he leads at the Tuileries. There was not even that distraction which was necessary for him—a short walk in the garden. This garden was public; if the Consul or Emperor appeared in it a crowd quickly gathered round him and made a train. It was only the condition of Marie Louise which made him during the later months of 1810 have a terrace reserved at the edge of the water, which could be reached from the palace by a specially constructed underground passage, and even then, as soon as the Empress left the Tuileries for Saint-Cloud, the terrace was restored to the public. If they were late in opening the gates, the Emperor had means of his own to remind them of his orders, which did not admit of any answer.

Thus, through all the week, it was a life between walls, nearly the whole of it passed in the work-cabinet and in the inner apartment, a life in which, as it were, etiquette played no part, and of which the hours flew away, rushing at the rate of a charge at a galop, under the heavy

whips of the couriers, who brought despatches from all the corners of Europe. But on Sunday the Emperor passed the whole of the day outside his apartment, showing himself to the Court, the people, and the army, to foreign powers, to everybody.

It is a different kind of work, less calculated to please him; it is that part of the duty of a Sovereign which most kings look on as necessary, but which he would be tempted to regard as superfluous, for it is the reality of power which he loves before everything, and if he now and then amused his fancy with the pomps of processions and the regulation of ceremonies, he soon got tired of such pastime, and in that which he supposed he should find some amusement of pride he only experienced unequalled weariness.

By crowding into the same day all the outward duties of sovereignty, he takes as little as he can from the hours of effective sovereignty, those which concern his Empire and himself, and yet he does enough to support the dignity of the crown, to maintain etiquette, to put himself at the disposal of courtiers, to prove to all that he is present to play the part of Emperor

and to fill the post of chief, of inspector, and even of principal instructor of the soldiery.

He keeps the morning for himself, which passes in the usual way. His toilet is the same as on every other day, and his costume identical, except that on days of ceremony he puts on his *grand cordon* of the Legion of Honour over his coat instead of putting it under, and that this coat is more frequently that of grenadier than that of chasseur. The *lever*, the audiences, the *déjeuner*, all go on as during the week, but at midday he leaves his private apartment.

The Empress has already gone to the chapel, and it is quite a procession which accompanies her. In front walk her pages, then the equerries and the chamberlains of the princesses, followed by her own equerries and her chamberlain on ordinary and extraordinary duty; at her right, a little behind, the first equerry and the first almoner; at her left, the lady of honour, followed by the princesses, the lady of the bed-chamber, the ladies of the palace, and the ladies in attendance on the princesses. A few minutes later, the Emperor, having been informed, takes the same road, and his procession

is more numerous still. At the head, the pages and their governor, the master of the ceremonies and his assistant, the equerries, the prefect of the palace, the chamberlains, the governor of the palace, the chamberlain and the equerry of the day, the *aide-de-camp* on duty, and finally, following the five grand officers of the crown, the Emperor. He is followed immediately by the colonel-general of the guard on duty, and by the grand almoner; then come the princes of the Imperial family, the princes of the Empire, the colonel-general of the guard, the *aides-de-camp* who are not on duty, the first almoner, and the officers of the princes.

From the throne-room the procession turns towards the grand staircase, lined on both sides with a hedge of foot soldiers of the guard; he crosses the hall of the guards, passes between the statues of Silence and Meditation, ascends the staircase of the hall of the Council of State, enters into that hall by a large and splendid doorway, and from thence enters the Imperial tribune of the chapel which is close by it. The door of the hall of the Council of State is reserved for the

Emperor, he alone passes through it, on Sunday with his court when he comes from mass, on week days accompanied only by the chamberlain on duty when he goes to preside over the Council of State.

Now and then these two processions unite. Then the Emperor, the Empress, the princes and princesses assemble in the throne-room. In the first antechamber, the *salon* which precedes this hall, the persons attached to the persons of the princes, the members of the senate and of the Council of State, and the general officers wait; in the second antechamber deputies, tribunes, judges and officers who have access to the Court. When the Emperor, giving his hand to the Empress, leaves the throne room, the officers of the Empress walk before the officers of the Emperor; but the route followed is the same, with the grand staircases to go down and up again, so favourable for the sumptuous development of Imperial theories, but along which, unfortunately, the Emperor, always in a hurry, walks too quickly, and takes away from this pomp a little of its dignity.

On the passage of the Empress, when she comes alone, the drums beat. A second roll

announces the arrival of the sovereign, before whom, the usher, opening the two leaves of the door, calls out, "The Emperor!"

The chapel is quite full. Below, on each side of the altar, a grenadier is on duty, with grounded musket. The nave is filled by the people who have reached it by the low gallery at the garden side. The Emperor, in fact, would never allow tickets of admission to be given for his chapel. The places were for the first comers. "Everything connected with public worship ought to be free for the people," said he. "The obligation of paying at the door or of paying for chairs is a revolting thing: the poor ought not to be deprived of that which consoles them in their poverty, because they are poor."

The Imperial tribune fills up all the end of the building opposite the altar; on the left are the tribunes, reserved for the ladies of the palace, and for ladies who have been presented at Court; on the right are the large open windows of the hall of the Council of State, to which hurry all those who will presently take part in the grand audience, and who possess the right of *entrée* to the palace, all in the uniform of

their rank, or in the costume of their office; and it is under these circumstances, with the end of the chapel all glittering with gold and silver, with this side adorned with fresh toilets, the other, less gaudy, but where the vibrating tones of military uniforms sound their trumpet notes over the less asserting assemblage of civil costumes, interspersed with light silks; with the floor on which any one finds a place who, as the order runs, "presents a decent exterior," that attention is given to the musicians of the Imperial chapel, arranged in an amphitheatre in a circular niche opposite to the Emperor, behind columns, which adorn the other end of the room above the altar.

Napoleon calls to mind the request addressed to him when he was First Consul by Girardin, at the time that he was about to re-establish the Catholic religion.

"You will be obliged to go to Mass," said Girardin.

"That may be."

"But you will also compel all the public functionaries to go too."

"How absurd!"

"No, citizen Consul; that will be the case,

because it will seem to you necessary, and what I ask you, even now, is to attach excellent musicians to your chapel, because good music is a remedy against tediousness, and the Mass, which we are no longer used to hearing, might seem very tedious to us."

No chapel in the world was comparable to that of the Emperor. The Director, after Paisiello, was Lesueur, the composer of *Les Bardes*, Lesueur, proscribed, ruined, reduced to despair by the faction of the Conservatoire, whom the First Consul received, gave him bread, an asylum, a theatre, and the means of gaining glory; two chefs d'orchestre, Persuis and Rochefort; two first men singers, Lays and Martin, four first ladies, Mmes. Branchu, Armant, Duret, Albert; and, in addition, three first trebles, three second trebles, males, and the same number of women; a first tenor, five tenors, five baritones, two contraltos, six singing basses. In the instrumental department, in the first place the first violin of the Emperor, Kreutzer, in addition to eight first violins, nine second violins, four violas, eight violoncellos, four contrabassi, two pianists, a harpist, two flutes, three hautbois, four clarinets, one solo

horn, three horns and four bassoons. And they were the first artists of Paris, whom the Emperor made Lesueur pick up one by one at the very moment when it seemed as though nothing was left for him but to leave the country or to die, as Cherubini and the Conservatoire shut every door against him. Among them all they divided 153,800 francs, but, what was even more valuable, they had the Imperial patronage, and beyond their salaries in the Imperial theatres, they found pupils, out of whom they made a good living.

The drum had scarcely announced the arrival of the Emperor than the master of ceremonies of the Church appeared, and the officiating priest, surrounded by his assistants, came out of the vestry. After having bowed to the altar, he turns towards Their Majesties, bows, and at once begins the Mass. It is not long, lasting about twenty minutes, and throughout the music continues. This music is excellent and uncommon, for Lesueur composed the greater part of his masses for the Emperor's chapel.

The Empress Joséphine, kneeling on a prie-dieu covered with crimson velvet with

gold fringe, remains in an attitude of the deepest attention; she is habited in a robe with a train, in the Greek style, the waist and sleeves short; her head, dressed in the Greek style, is ornamented with a diadem. By her side, just a little behind, the Emperor stands, "in the military attitude at Mass"; that is to say, standing up, the arms crossed, and his looks wandering here and there. Sometimes he leans over towards Joséphine, who only listens to his conversation for the time strictly necessary, and as soon as possible resumes her air of piety and attention. Except at these moments, without pretending to any devoutness, or without falling on his knees, he is grave, serious, and impassive. It is to this Mass that artists must repair if they are desirous of drawing him from nature; there is no lack of them, and we possess as evidence a drawing of Couder in 1811, two drawings of Girodet in 1812, and many more, no doubt, which are not known of, and sleep in the portfolios of amateurs.

This seriousness in the presence of a religious ceremony makes a contrast in the memory of people of the old Court, with the recollection of Louis XVI, whose behaviour scandalised the

English travellers, for "except at the adoration of the Host, he was during the Mass engaged in the gayest possible conversation with the Count d'Artois."

It was only after December 9th, 1806, that Mass was celebrated in the chapel constructed by Percier and Fontaine. Up to that time the Sunday worship had been somewhat irregular, and had not been surrounded with suitable pomp. By a letter of Germinal 30th, year X, the First Consul charged Duroc "to have constructed in his work cabinet, at the place where his bath was, all that was necessary to form a little chapel," by putting a painting or a piece of tapestry over the glass, and by having a sort of screen put up to mask the staircase, which would make it possible to communicate directly between the said little chapel and his bedroom. That lasted a very short time, and it is even doubtful whether this oratory was ever used. Subsequently, Mass was celebrated every Sunday in the hall where the Council of State held its sittings. The altar, shut up during the week in a closet, appeared on Sunday. The desks of the Emperor and of the grand dignitaries were removed; they arranged as

well as they could the tables of the Councillors of State, the Masters of Requests and the auditors, and matters went on in this way. Two alterations had to be ordered in the palace in 1805 before a corner was given for the worship of God, between the hall of theatrical performances, and the hall of the Council of State.

After the Post-Communion, the *Domine Salvum*, executed by all the musicians, and the prayer, chanted by the celebrant, the latter bows to the Emperor from the altar, and the procession re-forms to return to the State apartments.

Then the crowd gathers round; there are civil functionaries down to, and including sous-prefets, military officers to the rank of chief of battalion, and civil functionaries and officers of inferior rank, invalided or discharged, who had received the authorisation of the chamberlain of the day; to the last an order has been given never to refuse the *entrée*. There is no admission, however, except in uniform, or in full dress; no private dress; men who have been presented, who come to pay their court, are in costume *à la française* with sword.

All those who are present are agitated, even the greatest of them, at the thought of passing under the eye of Napoleon. As said a marshal of the Empire, "On Sunday, in the great gallery, where we are waiting, as soon as we hear the word 'The Emperor' we all turn pale, and I am acquainted with men of known bravery who tremble in all their limbs." Every one dreams that for a moment he will attract notice. There is one who has a volume under his arm, which he will offer if he is asked. Another is a man who keeps in the background, for he wishes to see whether he has really incurred disfavour, or if he will be recognised. One word which may fall from the lips of the Emperor, one name which he may pronounce, and the trouble will be forgotten, and it will be an unequalled joy, a pride which will last for the whole day.

Napoleon advances, sometimes with abrupt and rapid steps, at others with a slouching gait, not, as they said, to imitate the Bourbons, but because slouching belongs to the position he holds, and as he says very rightly to Girardin, "it results from the involuntary and forced embarrassment which a person experiences who

finds himself in the position of the observed of all observers." With an air which attempts to be smiling, he darts glances to the right and left which penetrate to the very end of the gallery and catch the unknown face, the personage to whom something is to be said, the useful and expected man, the man the sight of whom will suggest an idea which will associate itself with such and such previous design. In that case he at once fastens on the man; in two or three clear phrases, to which he must have an immediate and short answer, he sucks him dry, takes a note of his capacity, and stores it away in his memory.

Perhaps it is a paper which is presented to him, and which he hands over to the *aide-de-camp* or to the Grand Marshal; or a book which he perceives under an arm, which he takes. To right and to left are little bows, or a word or two to the great functionaries whom he wishes to distinguish: "How is Monsieur le Sénateur?" or "How is Monsieur the Councillor of State?" rather the title of the office than the name of the person, for to the title the costume is a sure guide to him, while about the name he may make a mistake. Witness what

happened to him with Ameilhon, the Member of the Institut, and this dialogue, which, if it is not true, is at least well invented :—

"Ah! You are Monsieur Ancillon?"

"Yes, Sire, Ameilhon."

"Ah, yes! Ameilhon. You have continued the Roman History of Lebon?"

"Yes, Sire, of Lebeau . . .

"Yes, yes, of Lebeau . . . down to the taking of Constantinople by the Arabs?"

"Yes, Sire, by the Turks."

"Of course, by the Turks . . . in 1449?"

"Yes, Sire, in 1453."

"In 1453; yes, that is it!"

All which did not prevent the delighted Ameilhon from saying to his neighbours, "It is incredible. He knows everything; he remembers everything; it is impossible to teach him anything!"

The desired effect then is produced; but if it happens that Napoleon goes astray when, to make himself agreeable, without attaching any other importance to it, he makes an excursion into the domain of history, of literature, or of pure science, there is no danger that he will make the mistake of a syllable when there is a

question of his own affairs. If he perceives any one present who has just arrived from the Illyrian Provinces, from Hamburg or from Amsterdam, he extracts from him the three or four facts which he wants to know, and passes on. This Prefect whom he has not summoned is at his audience. Why? What is he doing in Paris? A clear answer, and, if it is satisfactory, he passes on. In two words that discharged officer tells his story, and hands his petition. Frequently he makes a tick on it, and passes on. Justice will be done.

If some old soldier, some centenarian who has seen the old wars and survived to his generation, is recommended to the benevolence of the Emperor, it is here that Napoleon orders it to be presented to him; as in the case of Vilcot, aged a hundred and two years, whom he received in September 1806, and to whom, in addition to 2,400 francs for his travelling expenses, he granted on the spot a pension of 600 francs. Let no one, thinking to make himself noticeable, clothe himself with a uniform which he is not entitled to wear, or which is not according to regulation. The next day a letter from the Grand Marshal comes to remind the

usurper that there are badges which a retired general has not the right to assume, and it is the Emperor who has dictated this letter; for with one glance of his clear eyes he has seen everything, seen all those who were present, remarked those who were absent, taken notice of the costumes, inspected the "get up," formed an opinion even about the looks of people.

This Sunday audience, which keeps up the contact between him and the men whom he employs and his subjects of almost all degrees, is one of the few institutions of the Directory which has survived; and every one, beginning with Napoleon, finds the advantage of it.

He has passed through the gallery and the State apartments. He is less often stopped in them, for those whom he meets there are his intimates, and that is not the place to talk business. He goes into his State cabinet—a cabinet in which he never works, which is all show and luxury, which has no resemblance of any kind to the work cabinet of the inner apartment, into which no stranger ever penetrates, and which is strictly closed against every outsider. This State cabinet, which is also called the Emperor's *salon*, and which was the State

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cabinet of Louis XIV, communicates with the throne-room, and has a means of access into the State bed-chamber. It has preserved its ancient decoration in the Louis XIV style by Lerambert and Girardon, and its paintings by Coypel; but Percier and Fontaine had made in it one of those chimneypieces which in their work are so remarkable for their style, their robust elegance, and, if one may say so, their dignity. From the floor it mounts up to the ceiling, which is painted and gilt with a profusion of figures in stucco. Against the ceiling, quite at the top, two angels in high relief hold up the globe; and in the centre, in a great bas-relief supported by eagles and trophies, History and Victory form the frame of a grandiose clock, the hours of which they have to announce. In this *salon* are arranged in trophies the flags and standards of the Guard. It is its chief and, one may say, its only ornament; for the decoration as it was originally designed has not been completed, and never will be. At the time of which we speak, the furniture, with the exception of a handsome writing-table very much ornamented with brass, on which neither the Emperor nor any one else ever writes, and which

is only there as a matter of form, comprises only six armchairs and twelve chairs or folding seats of gilt wood, covered with some sort of Gobelins tapestry. But this is only a temporary arrangement, and soon this *salon* is to be decorated in a style worthy of its intention. In the walls will be inserted four panels representing occurrences in the life of the Emperor. The patterns are completed, and the tapestries are in course of making. The furniture is to be purple in ground, and of tapestry heightened with gold. David himself has given the design for one of the armchairs; Debret and Dubois, under his direction, have executed and painted the ornaments to bring the furniture into harmony with the door-curtains already in place. The latter, purple in ground, with a border of ornaments and Imperial attributes, present, one, Victory in the midst of a trophy of modern arms, the other, Fame in the midst of a trophy of ancient arms. The four door-curtains intended to complete the decoration will exhibit, within the same border and on the same ground, the first two the armorial bearings of France and Italy, the other two symbolical figures, supported by appropriate trophies, in one case of

the Arts and Sciences, in the other of Industry and Commerce. At the windows will be placed hangings of Gobelins tapestry, of the same tone and with ornaments of the same style.

Nothing more. Knowing for whom they are working, the artists and workmen follow their own idea of magnificence.

In this cabinet the Emperor makes but a short stay. If the occasion arises, he gives a very short audience in it on the arrival or departure of a Prince of the Confederation, who is solemnly introduced by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies. Now and then this reception precedes Mass, but most frequently it follows it, and occupies the moment between the end of the Grand Audience and the beginning of the Parade. If there is no Parade, and the time is taken up by the presentation of deputations, or the administering of oaths, the Emperor returns to the Throne-room, and, surrounded by the grand dignitaries, who have few other opportunities of performing their duties, the grand officers of the union and of the Empire, and officers on duty, he listens to the speeches, receives addresses, and replies at length. In order to administer oaths he often remains in

the Grand Cabinet. He then keeps with him only the grand dignitary who gives the oaths, the Grand Chamberlain, who introduces the officer or the functionary newly promoted, and the Secretary of State, who reads the form and receives the register.

Napoleon attached quite an exceptional importance to the oath of fidelity. He had made it one of the fundamental bases of his system. He thought that the man who freely pledged his faith held himself bound for life, and that if he broke his oath he was deficient in honour. He believed in honour. "A nation ought never to do anything contrary to honour," said he, "for in that case she will be the last of all; it is better to perish." What he says of nations, he thinks of individuals. The man who is deficient in honour is the most contemptible of beings.

From the top to the bottom of the Government ladder he claimed to have established the religion of the oath—not a religious oath, for prescribed forms of a religious character have been banished from it; but an oath which looks to honour alone in the man who takes it. If this man fails in it, it will not be God that

he has outraged,—oaths taken to God priests absolve; it would be his own conscience that he betrayed.

The Emperor took the oath to the people; all those whom the Emperor employs in the service of the nation take it to the Emperor, and to him they swear their fidelity, unreservedly and solemnly, between his own hands, as soon as they are promoted to any post or office where they have independent authority. This is the case with military men, from the colonel or adjutant in command. And it is the highest dignitaries of the Empire who tender the oath and take part in the ceremony: the Grand Elector, the Constable, the Grand Admiral, the Arch-chancellors of the State and of the Empire, the Arch-treasurer, each according to his department; and the Secretary of State draws up a minute of each oath administered.

The taking of these oaths did not prevent treason. But he who imagined that the oath was binding to other men held that an oath was binding on himself, and thus testified for the conscience of his equals a respect which could only proceed from his own conscience.

However serious and grave this ceremony

was in reality, there did not lack comic episodes to cheer up its monotony. On entering the cabinet of the Emperor, the newly-promoted ought in advancing from the end of the room to make three bows, elaborate bows, almost as if dancing, for which he had been to take lessons from Gardel, the ballet-master of the opera. Often some old fellow, but little versed in deportment, got confused in his reverences, in the steps to be taken to the right and to the left, especially in going back with his face to the Emperor, without for a moment turning his back to him, and yet without losing the direction. Then the half drops, which made the sword or the sabre get hampered with the legs; and, above all, the struggle to restrain an oath, as depicted in the vigorous and contorted countenance, the oath of a trooper which would break out as soon as the door was reached, was as good as a play to those who were present.

As a rule the private audiences, and even the taking of oaths, did not encroach on the Parade. During the Consulate it took place every décadi, often twice, on décadi regularly, on quintidi in addition; but under the Empire,

from 1806, it is scarcely ordered more frequently than once a fortnight, on account of the ceremonies. It usually takes place at about one o'clock in the afternoon, often a little later, sometimes at six o'clock in the evening, but then it became only a short inspection of troops.

In the usual way this is how things are arranged: on Saturday, at the *coucher*, the Emperor gave his orders to the colonels-general of the guard and to the Governor of Paris as to the troops which were to attend. Before the time stated, the different corps assembled in the court of the Palace, and on the Place du Carrousel, and as soon as they arrived they were placed under the command of the Colonel-General of the Guard, appointed by the Emperor. This Colonel-General is assisted in the transmission of orders by some officers of the staff of the palace, selected by the Grand Marshal for the purpose. As soon as the corps of the guards are drawn up, the flag and standard-bearers come out from the ranks and assemble before the Pavillon de l'Horloge. An officer of the palace puts himself at their head, and conducts them to the *salon* of the Emperor by the grand staircase and the state

apartments, at the door of which a chamberlain announces them. They make a trophy of the flags and standards, and in the same order return to the open air. When they march out and return to their places in the ranks, each with his escort, all along the line breaks out that beating of the drums in honour of the flags, that trumpet salute for the standards, which are peculiar to the guards; the crowd which is packed against the railings, carried away by the excitement of the music and trumpets, with nerves affected by the martial sound of muskets rattling at the same moment, their eyes filled with the slow and superb action of the officers saluting with their swords, all wish, as the old soldiers do who are there, to have a personal interest in those tattered rags which float on the breeze beneath the gold eagle or the gold crown. After each Parade there is a rush of volunteers, even from middle-class homes, those who, in the ordinary way, are ready to buy a substitute at any price to avoid service.

At the precise time which he has fixed,—for if he makes dignitaries, princes, marshals, and his wife wait, he does not make his soldiers wait,

—the Emperor leaves his *salon*, and, preceded by his retinue, accompanied by those whose duty it is to form his train, he passes through the state apartments, goes down the grand staircase, and in the open air mounts his horse. Unless under exceptional circumstances, or as a marked favour to some prince passing through for whom he orders a horse to be found, his staff, of small dimensions, is made up always in the same way. The constable, the vice-constable, the four colonels-general of the guard, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, the minister of war, the governor of Paris, the first inspector of gendarmerie, the four *aides-de-camp*, the equerry, the orderly officers, and the pages on duty alone are entitled to follow on horseback. But the constable, Louis, is hardly ever in Paris; of the four colonels-general it is unusual that three of them are not occupied at the camps, or with the armies; and the grand equerry is also at the same time ambassador in Russia. The staff of the Emperor is therefore less numerous than that of the First Consul.

In general the infantry is drawn up in the court, the cavalry and artillery on the Place.

Napoleon in the first instance passes at a quick galop through all the ranks; then he dismounts and begins the manœuvres, which he makes each corps repeat several times. An officer or a sub-officer possessing a good voice for giving the word of command remains near him to repeat his orders. Then he inspects, man by man, each regiment, on some days having all the knapsacks opened before him, on others inspecting himself each ammunition wagon of a battery, looking into everything, for with the undertaking which he has on hand each soldier has importance, and the result of a campaign may depend on a pair of shoes which ought to be in the knapsack, or the result of a battle on the supply of ball which should be in the ammunition wagon. At the manœuvres no one spares himself less than he does; if a movement fail, it is begun again. He puts to the proof the knowledge of the officer quite as much as that of the soldier, and he does not tolerate that in this part of his calling any one should show negligence. He is not ignorant that certain officers of his surrounding find the matter tedious, but let them grumble inwardly if they like. While he was Consul,

one day when he heard murmuring, he said to Lannes,—

"It does not occur to you to grumble because the parade has sometimes made us dine an hour late?"

"Ah, as to that, no! I give you my word of honour. It is all the same to me to eat my soup hot or cold, provided you make us work to warm up a good broth of those d—— English."

Every one is not like Lannes, and when Lannes was dead it also happened that the Emperor preferred to dine punctually, because Marie Louis wished it so. As the Empire advanced the parades became more and more unfrequent; soon there were hardly any, none of a serious and instructive nature; to induce him to command one, such an occasion as the visit to Paris of foreign regiments, Swiss, Croats, or Polonais, was necessary. In the winter of 1811-12, in four months there were in all four grand parades, the 8th and 22nd December, 12th January, and 22nd March. For this reason how much less valuable is the tool manufactured in these last years, it matters not by what workman, to that which the First

Consul and the Emperor from 1800 to 1806 so carefully forged, polished, and adjusted with his own hands at Paris and at Boulogne.

Still more, and this is the worst of all, Napoleon had lost that habitual contact with the soldiers, that familiarity which made him at first sight recognise four of five men in each regiment, whose names he was careful to mention, adding some convincing detail which showed that he knew all their past services. No more of those dialogues of good fellowship between him and the veteran who with his petition on the ramrod of his musket came out of the ranks presenting arms. No more of those anecdotes which ran through the barrack rooms, went from barrack to barrack, quickening zeal and stirring up devotion : pensions for an old mother, bursaries in a Lycée or in an Imperial household for an orphan child ; injustice repaired, and with what remarkable nobleness; acts of forgetfulness repaired, and with what generosity ; that perpetual exchange of rewards and self-denial which a word provoked, and which caused a harvest of self-sacrifice to spring up under his footsteps.

All depends on this trifling fact : under the

Consulate, when, on parade, the Consul distributed arms of honour, all those who received them, whether officers or privates, were invited the same evening to his table, dined at the same table with him, with him and his wife, with the senators, ministers, councillors of state, the foremost of the nation. In 1812, the day after the Parade, the whole of the officers in a body were entertained at a restaurant by an *aide-de-camp* of the Emperor. It was a noble entertainment; but it was no longer a distinction. It no longer concerned the soldier, but only the officer; and is it possible to estimate what could and must have passed in the mind of the soldier who returned to his quarters after having dined with the Consul?

In the early days the Grand Parade generally lasted three hours, sometimes five. It wound up with the march-past of all the troops, battalion by battalion, to the sound of the band of each regiment, which came and stood at the left of the Pavillon de l'Horloge, in front of which the staff was massed.

The Emperor at once returned to the state apartments, from which the Corps Diplomatique, while waiting for its audience, had been able

to contemplate at leisure from the windows a spectacle which Napoleon considered to be as instructive for his enemies as for his friends. Care had been taken, besides, to give other and more succulent distraction to the foreign ambassadors and ministers. In the *salon* which was reserved for them a buffet was served, plentifully provided with tea, coffee, and chocolate, liqueurs and sweetmeats. Colin, chief confectioner, afterwards principal *maître d'hôtel*, superintended the service, which was performed by the *garçons d'appartement*. When the hour of the audience was come, the ambassadors and ministers, according to the date of their residence in Paris, entered the Throne-room, and there formed a circle. The Emperor began at his right hand to go round, talking to each in succession. He passed along twice, and twice said a few words, but in the ordinary course only remarks of no moment. "Do you amuse yourself in Paris?" "Have you any news from your country?" No matters of business, nothing but civilities.

If he meant to strike a blow, to prove that he was not being duped, or to unmask the enemy —England or Austria—which wheedled while

it was waiting to get its ambuscade ready; if he wished to show to any one who was organising a coalition and was preparing for war—for it was always he who was attacked—that he knew where they were leading him, and wished by a burst of anger to intimidate those who were wavering, he assumed his "tempest" countenance at the entrance of the Throne-room, fastened at once on the agent with whom he was concerned, and began his discourse. This discourse was certainly violent; two, at least, are on record; but we may distrust the revival of an allegation, which is not strictly exact, and which has been shown not to be so by the avowals of the principal actors, by the official documents, and by the subsequent course of events. In these cases the Emperor appeared to be in a rage; but, in fact, he was master of himself. He went only so far as he intended to go. Very rarely was his emotion strong enough to get the better of him, and he experienced in that case a particular sign—a vibration in the calf of the left leg. But to provoke this sign it required a series of personal and private annoyances, and it was not on such occasions that he felt them.

When Napoleon had finished his second round he made a bow of the head to dismiss the members of the Corps Diplomatique, who, without leaving the Tuileries, found in the apartment of the Grand Marshal a dinner presided over by that great officer, and served by the livery servants of the Emperor. This repast was magnificent in a different way from that of the Emperor himself; and at least the gourmands, who when they were admitted to the table of the First Consul complained that "it began too late and left off too early," were able to take their ease. The table was laid for five-and-twenty persons, and the *menu* comprised four soups, two dishes of beef, four removes, twenty-four *entrées*, eight roasts, twenty *entremets*, four great pieces, twelve *hors-d'œuvre*, and four salads. For dessert, four cheeses, twelve bonbons, twelve dishes of small pastry, twelve compotes, and twelve fruits. After the coffee twenty-four ices.

As for the Emperor, he has his regular Sunday dinner, which is a family dinner. Around the table, placed as usual in one of the *salons*, and served on this day on silver gilt, are placed three armchairs, for himself, for the

every Sunday. He decided that there was something idolatrous and feudal, of vulgar curiosity and servility, about it. They might go and see the sovereign at church or at the theatre, but to go and see him eat was ridiculous. "The circumstances of the times," said he at Saint Helena, "ought to have limited the ceremony to the Prince Imperial, and only during the time of his youth, for he was the child of the whole nation. From that time he would be the object of universal solicitude."

The *menu*, a little more abundant than on week-days, was composed of two soups, bouilli, one remove, six *entrées*, two roasts, four *entremets*, two great pieces, four *hors-d'œuvres*, and two salads. At dessert, two cheeses, four plates of bonbons, four of small pastry, four compotes, and four fruits. When the Bourbons returned they changed this. At a family dinner of January 6th, 1820, was served: two soups, four *relevés*, sixteen *entrées*, four roasts, sixteen *entremets*, and four great pieces.

It is true that the dinner of the King lasted some hours more than that of the Emperor, although, for the family, he consented to remain

at table a little longer than on the days when he dined with the Empress. Then he dined in ten or twelve minutes. On Sunday he allowed a quarter of an hour, sometimes even twenty minutes; and if he rose sooner, the Empress gave a sign to the guests, and they remained. But yet the best plan was to do as Eugène when he found himself at Paris and had dined before.

After dinner, from 1804 to 1810, the Emperor habitually remained in one of the *salons* to chat with his mother, his sisters, and the Empress. It was, in fact, altogether exceptional for any stranger, though he were a prince, to be admitted to interfere with this intimacy. Stéphanié and Eugène, having been adopted, were of the family; the Prince of Baden was connected; the Grand Duke of Würtzburg, later, was the uncle of Marie Louise. It appears that the Prince of Bavaria, at a later time the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, may have been invited; but still with these three sovereigns the Emperor had family ties.

It was a favour without precedent when Bernadotte and his wife, Désirée Clary, were admitted into it on September 25th, 1810. It

was the eve of the departure of Bernadotte for Sweden, and it involved a long conference between the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, the Grand Marshal, and the Grand Chamberlain to draw up the etiquette for such an unprecedented occasion. Although looked on as a Marshal of the Empire, and styled Prince of Ponte-Corvo, Bernadotte came in Swedish costume. It was not till after dinner, in the apartment of the Empress, that he was presented as the Prince Royal of Sweden, in the first place to Marie Louise, and then to the Emperor. For the Princess of Ponte-Corvo the forms had been shortened, and she had been presented after the Parade. From this example one may judge of the upset which such a favour produced in the ordinary habits; for no less than two orders of the Emperor, and at least two plans of the ceremony, drawn up with infinite detail, were necessary to render the reception possible.

After the second marriage the intercourse at the conclusion of the family dinner was all over. Regularly every Sunday there was an assembly and a theatrical performance in the apartments of the new Empress. A suppression of parades,

a profusion of assemblies, etiquette made still more stringent, and the Emperor still more placed outside the common rank of existence, are the characteristics of the new *régime*. Some have thought that to this might be traced the causes of the fall of the Empire. That is possible.

APPENDIX.

THE WARDROBE OF THE EMPEROR.

INVENTORY AND DESCRIPTIONS.

APPENDIX.

IN order to establish certain points with some approach to accuracy, it is convenient to ascertain the facts by discussions which could not find a place in the body of the work. Various legends, taking their rise from apocryphal memoirs or from interested testimony, are still current, and it is important to destroy them. If credence is to be allowed them, certain persons who make a trade of Napoleon relics would too easily find their account in them. Pretended writers, who greatly resemble these dealers, have already done so.

I wish, therefore, in the appendices which will be added to this volume, to study from actual documents certain particulars which seem to me of concern to history, or at least to historical curiosity.

It is by this method only that it will be possible to ascertain that which concerns the private life of the Emperor. I say, "private life," because it is the word which the Vicomte E. M. de Vogüé has used to describe his studies. Those faithful to the great memory will value it. For myself, I am convinced that this private life explains

many points of the public life of Napoleon: of such a man it is desirable to know all the habits and ways. From my point of view it is not unimportant to put them on record; there is none but throws some light on his character, and which is not ultimately worth the trouble of investigation. It is on this account that I renew in this place the appeal which I made to all who can furnish me with any facts bearing on the familiar life of Napoleon. Already important communications have been addressed to me, when some of the articles which this volume contains appeared in the *Revue de Famille*; but there exists, I can have no doubt, a mass of documents which I have not seen, of unpublished recollections, of letters, of accounts from which light might be drawn, which, separately, appear without interest to their possessors, but which would largely help my investigations. I hope that those who kindly interest themselves in the matter will be good enough to point out such traces as they may know, or to inform me of their nature. I shall then not fail to complete these notes, or to correct any inaccuracies I may have fallen into.

THE WARDROBE OF THE EMPEROR.

Before 1811, that is to say, as long as M. Rémusat, first chamberlain, performed the duties of master of the wardrobe, no document has up to the present time allowed us to fix completely and accurately the disposal and expenditure of the wardrobe. No doubt the papers relating to its management remained in his hands, and he neglected to deposit them in the archives of the Crown. The registers of the articles which the Grand Marshal was ordered to verify and to identify after the dismissal of M. Rémusat ought to be forthcoming; but if these registers remained in the archives of the Grand Marshal, the latter after the death of Duroc were dispersed in a remarkable manner, and a fortunate chance alone can have prevented their destruction. We are nevertheless justified at the present time in affirming that the Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat state what is not true when we read, "The expenditure of Bonaparte on his toilet was placed on the budget at 40,000 francs. Sometimes it exceeded this amount." The toilet never stood on the budget for a higher figure than 20,000 francs, and it is because M. Rémusat had exceeded this figure, and had accumulated a debt of 16,000 francs, that he was dismissed on August 19th, 1811.

That very day the Emperor orders the preparation of a complete and systematic inventory, and at the same time arranges the way in which renewals should be made. The reforms were to take place from that time only when the existing quantities of the different items should exceed the quantities which the stock ought to consist of, so that the stock should be always kept up. The inventory, according to the orders of Duroc, is divided into four parts :—

1. Articles of dress and lace.
2. Articles of common and daily use.
3. Arms.
4. Jewels.

The inventory of August 11th, 1811, forms the basis of this work. It is rendered complete :—

1. By means of another register, showing the disposal of the different articles up to the departure from Fontainebleau in 1814.

2. By the list of property drawn up by Marchand, at St. Helena, the day after the death of the Emperor.

3. As to certain points, such as jewels and snuff-boxes, by the inventory dictated and signed by Napoleon at Longwood, April 16th, 1821.

In the list A, attached to the will, § III., the Emperor mentions "three small cases of mahogany, containing: the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or bonbonnières; the second, twelve boxes with the imperial arms, two little magnifying glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII at the Tuileries, March 20th, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals, for the Emperor's

use, and various toilet objects, in accordance with the lists numbered I., II., III."

These lists were not found attached to the will as proved, and have remained unpublished; they, nevertheless, contain details relatively most complete, and these details have this special value, that they proceed from the Emperor himself.

The result of the comparison of these four inventories is the identification of the objects possessed by the Emperor from 1811 to 1821; notes extracted from the memoranda of dealers, and from different private documents, are sufficient to establish the source of the greater part of the jewels and personal objects of value. Lastly, from the will, the lists attached, and the lists of the division made among the executors of the will, it has been shown what was the intended disposal by the Emperor of the relics of St. Helena.

But this disposal it has not been possible to follow further, although eighty years at the most separate us from the date of the funeral of the 5th of May. Even of the most precious relics, those which the Emperor intended for his son, it has not been possible, as might have been wished, to discover, with complete certainty, all the actual possessors.

In 1835 the greater part of the objects left by the Emperor to his son, and confided by him to the executors of his will, or to different members of his household, were faithfully handed over to General Arrighi de Casanova, Duke of Padua, the representative of Madame Mère and of the brothers and sisters of Napoleon. They were then divided, and became dispersed through the entire world.

In the second generation fresh divisions were made. Besides this, the first possessors did not keep their shares complete; objects forming part of them were dispersed, given away, or bequeathed. Many passed into public sales. In a word, the whole of the depositaries were not faithful, or did not understand the obligation of the trust which they had received. Some, as the Grand Marshal Bertrand, disposed of the effects which had been confided to them in favour of the French Government, or of different museums; others, like the Abbé Vignali or his heirs, put the objects in the Mont de Piété, where they remained; others, as Count Montholon, seem to have disposed of them for their personal wants.

The result of all these facts is that the present work is necessarily incomplete; that it would be impossible to form a definite list of the Napoleon relics except after an inquiry held simultaneously at Farnborough, at Brussels, at Prangins, at Turin, at Rome, at Paris, at Stockholm, at Arenemberg, at St. Petersburg, in all the towns of Italy where at the present day are to be found settled descendants of Lucien Bonaparte, of King Joseph, and of Queen Caroline, in the whole of Europe, and even in the United States.

It is only those interested in the matter who can undertake this enquiry. The list which we give them here will no doubt render it easier. At the same time it will have the result of destroying a certain number of legends touching articles in the possession of private people. It may serve as the basis of a definitive list, towards which the author of this book requests the united assistance of all.

I. ARTICLES OF COSTUME.

The Emperor did not take the articles of costume to St. Helena. "Before leaving Paris," says Marchand, "I packed up a trunk of articles from that time useless to the Emperor. It was composed of the Imperial robes of the Champ de Mai, of his Majesty's lace; of arms, of an ancient dagger, and of a small case of medals. In accordance with the orders of the Emperor, I forwarded the whole to the Comte de Turenne, grand master of the wardrobe, in whose charge they remained." Subsequently no trace is found of these articles in the list of the effects drawn up at St. Helena after the death of Napoleon; they are only briefly referred to at the end, in the same terms as they are described in the list B attached to the will, entitled: "Inventory of the effects which I left with M. le Comte de Turenne." This inventory is very incomplete; but by combining the inventory of 1811, that of 1814, and the list of articles which were handed over to the French Government in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne, son of the master of the wardrobe, and which up to 1870 were exhibited at the Musée des Souverains, one succeeds in following, up to that date, the greater part of the objects, in demonstrating

their existence, in proving, consequently, that the coronation robes were not, as has been said, carried off to Moscow to be used at a new coronation (see "Le Secret de 1812," by Alfred Sudre, Paris, 1887, 8vo).

The inventory is here published in the order in which it was drawn up in 1811. The descriptions in thick letters are those of that date. Then follow, where necessary, explanations from the revise of 1814; then those of the different inventories made at St. Helena; lastly, notes taken from the memoranda for tradesmen.

§ 1. Grand Costume.

No. 1. Two mantles of purple velvet, embroidered with gold and silver. Grand costume of France.

WILL: LIST B.—*Inventory of the objects left with the Comte de Turenne.*

"Two mantles of crimson velvet embroidered, with waistcoats and knee-breeches. Left to Prince Joseph and to Prince Lucien.

These are the two coronation mantles.

Widow TOULET, *furrier*: Fur (for the grand mantle, 76 feet of ermine with spots of astrachan, at 48 francs the foot) . 18,220 fr.

VACHER, *cloth merchant*: White satin cloth, white velvet, crimson velvet, Tyrian purple, etc. (including no doubt the satin and the velvet of the coat, waistcoat, and knee-breeches) . . .	2,515 fr.
CHEVALIER, *His Majesty's tailor*: Making the grand mantle	600 fr.
Making the small mantle . .	500 fr.
PICOT, *their Majesties' embroiderer*: Embroidery of the grand mantle . .	15,000 fr.
Embroidery of the small costume .	10,000 fr.
GOBERT, *lace-maker*: Trimming the grand mantle, and the shoes . . .	1,547 fr.

The mantle of the full dress was embroidered with gold and "*semé*" with bees. Each of these bees, embroidered on white velvet, measures exactly .05 m. in length. It seems that several have been detached.

The mantle of the second costume was exhibited at the Musée des Souverains as No. 228: "*It is of purple velvet, embroidered with gold and silver; the lining of white satin embroidered with gold on the facings and the collar. In the embroidery, branches of olive, of laurel, and of oak are entwined, surrounding the letter N. A badge of the Legion of Honour is placed on the side.*"

No. 2. A mantle of green velvet, embroidered with gold. Grand costume of Italy.

Is not to be found in the inventory of 1821.

No. 3. A coat of purple velvet embroidered with gold. Costume of the Coronation.

CHEVALIER, *the Emperor's tailor*: Making (coat, waistcoat, and breeches) . . 300 fr.

PICOT: Embroidery of the velvet coat on all the seams, with the waistcoat of white velvet, and embroidered garters. 3,500 fr.

This coat, exhibited at the Musée des Souverains as No. 229, *is of purple velvet like the above mantle (undress costume), and much ornamented with embroidery, in keeping with that of the mantle; the trimmings and the collar of white velvet are embroidered similarly.*

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

No. 4. Two coats of purple velvet embroidered with gold and silver. Grand costume of France.

These are probably the coats exhibited at the Musée des Souverains numbered 231 and 232.

231. *Coat of ceremony. Purple velvet embroidered with gold. It is similar to the one which the Emperor wore on the day of his coronation.*

232. *Coat of ceremony. It differs from the former only in the embroidered shoulders, which are silver, the branches of laurel, of olive, and of oak being embroidered in gold.*

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

No. 5. A coat of green velvet embroidered with gold. Grand costume of Italy.

Musée des Souverains, No. 233. *Coat of ceremony. Green velvet, embroidered with gold. Of the same shape and having the same ornaments as the coat worn by the Emperor on the day of his coronation.*

Omitted from the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

No. 6. Two coats of "pou-de-soie," embroidered with gold and silver. Costume of the Coronation.

PICOT, *embroiderer*: A coat of purple *pou-de-soie*, embroidered at all the seams, the waistcoat, the garters, and the buttons . . . . . 3,500 fr.

Musée des Souverains, No. 235. *Coat of ceremony, silk, colour of amaranth, the ears of corn embroidered with silver. Branches of laurel, of olive, and of oak embroidered with gold.*

Omitted from the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

Another similar coat, only embroidered with silver.

Musée des Souverains, No. 234. *Same origin.*

No. 7. A tunic of white satin embroidered with gold. Costume of the Coronation.

Musée des Souverains, No. 223. *The long robe which formed part of the state dress of the Emperor on the day of his coronation, of white satin, embroidered at all the seams; the bottom of the robe embroidered and ornamented with a twisted pattern in gold.*

Omitted from the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

No. 8. Four waistcoats of white velvet, embroidered with gold and silver. State costume.

(*See No.* 1, § 2.)

No. 9. Three waistcoats of white pou-de-soie, embroidered with gold. State summer costume.

Do not appear in the inventory of 1821.

No. 10. A waistcoat of white pou-de-soie embroidered with gold and silver. State summer costume.

Musée des Souverains, Nos. 236 and 238. *Three waistcoats of white silk, embroidered with gold.*

Restored by the Comte de Turenne in 1852.

Do not appear in the inventory of 1821.

No. 11. A waistcoat of white gros de Naples, embroidered with silver. Fancy costume.

Does not appear in the inventory of 1821.

No. 12. Two pairs of knee-breeches of white velvet, embroidered with gold and silver. State costume.

(*See No.* 1, § 2.)

A note at page 286 of the Catalogue of the Musée des Souverains mentions that M. de Turenne returned, in addition to the objects exhibited, a pair of knee-breeches of white velvet with embroidered garters, and that these knee-breeches, which were not exhibited, were preserved at the Louvre.

No. 13. Two pairs of knee-breeches of white pou-de-soie embroidered with gold and silver. State summer costume.

Do not appear in the inventory of 1821.

No. 14. Two sashes of white satin embroidered and fringed with gold. Grand coronation costume.

Do not appear in the inventory of 1821.

One is tempted to think that one of these two sashes is the scarf exhibited at the Musée des Souverains as No. 224, with the title: *Scarf which carried the sword of the Emperor, in his State dress, on the day of his Coronation.*

No. 15. A scarf of violet taffeta. State costume of the Coronation.

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

No. 16. A scarf of white satin embroidered and fringed with gold. Given by the Empress Marie Louise.

(*See on this head Meneval, I.*, 297.)

Marie Louise embroidered, but Madame Rousseau, her teacher of embroidery, even more admirably. She gave Madame Rousseau an ample salary (3,378 fr. in 1810, 4,320 fr. in 1811, 5,809 fr. 25 cent. in 1812, 4,000 fr. in 1813, 4,333 fr. 33 cent. in 1814). But the Emperor gave Madame Rousseau at a single payment a gratuity of 6,000 fr. on February 21st, 1811. Was it on account of this scarf, or of the shoulder-belt No. 18?

No. 17. A shoulder-belt of white velvet embroidered with gold and silver, fitted with gold. State dress of the Coronation.

PICOT, *embroiderer*: A shoulder-belt, state dress, embroidered with gold on a foundation of white velvet, raised design, mounted with fittings of solid gold bearing subjects and ornaments modelled and chased in relief, finished in dead gold on a polished ground. For ornaments, making, and arrangement. . . . . 1,000 fr.

Musée des Souverains, No. 241. Shoulder-belt.

Folded it measures 0.680.

"*Two plaques of silver gilt are attached to the two extremities; each of them is ornamented with the Imperial eagle placed between two crowns, which enclose the letter N. The waist-belt is furnished with two porte-mousquetons of silver gilt. It is of white velvet, embroidered with gold; the design of the embroidery is composed of a repetition of eagles placed on a globe and holding thunderbolts in their talons. The initials of the Emperor and cornucopias alternate with each design.*"

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

No. 18. A shoulder-belt of white velvet embroidered with gold and silver, without fittings, embroidered by the Empress Marie Louise.

(*See Meneval, I.*, 297, *and the note No.* 16.)

One is tempted to think that this shoulder-belt might at least have some connection with the waist-belt exhibited at the Musée des Souverains as No. 242, of which this is the description: "*It is of white moiré silk. The embroidery of gold is composed of 'semé' of stars, bees, hymeneal torches, and quivers; on the edges are entwined twigs of laurels and olives. Two silver plaques are affixed to the extremities. Each of these is ornamented with the Imperial eagle between two crowns which enclose the letter N. Length* 1.360 *m.*"

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

Restored in 1852 by the Comte de Turenne.

No. 19. A shoulder-belt in white gros de Naples, embroidered with gold, with gold fittings. Costume of the Coronation.

ÉTIENNE, *beltmaker*: A shoulder-belt in the antique style, with fittings from the designs of Isabey . . . . . 1,516 fr.

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

No. 20. A waist-belt of white velvet, embroidered with gold and silver, gold fittings.

Musée des Souverains, No. 240. *Waist-belt, length* 1.310 *m.*

It is of white velvet and embroidered with gold. The design of the embroidery consists of a repetition of eagles on a globe, and holding thunderbolts in their talons. The ciphers of the Emperor and cornucopias alternate with each design.

Omitted in the inventory of 1821.

Restored by the Comte de Turenne in 1852.

No. 21. Four pairs of silk stockings embroidered with gold.

PANIER, *hosier*: (For the Coronation) two pairs of silk stockings embroidered with gold . . . . . 144 fr.

Mdes. LOLIVE, DE BEUVRY, et Cie.: Embroidering in gold of two pairs of silk stockings at 120 fr. the pair.

Musée des Souverains. *At the same time as the other effects, the Comte de Turenne returned four pairs of white silk stockings, with the clocks embroidered with gold, which were preserved at the Louvre, but were not exhibited.*

No. 22. Three pairs of white velvet shoes. Costume of the Coronation.

JACQUES, *shoemaker*: A pair of shoes of deerskin to serve as a pattern.

One pair of white velvet shoes embroidered with dead gold, the sole

bound with massive gold lace, rosettes of cloth of gold, the inside trimmed with silk . . . . . 400 fr.

BERGER, *shoemaker to the Imperial Academy of Music:* A pair of half-boots of white satin, embroidered with gold, with gilt edging, lined with white satin . . 600 fr.
The pattern . . . . . 150 fr.

On Denon's order Jacques, bootmaker, made: A Roman sandal, intended for the ceremony of the Coronation, ornamented with designs and embroidery, the sole of cork trimmed with silk inside and out, with a heel of red morocco, as well as with a trimming of dead gold going all round the sandal, which was furnished with rings. This sandal, which cost 250 fr., was to serve as a pattern for the Coronation, and was set aside for a pair of shoes.

No. 23. Three pairs of shoes of white pou-de-soie. Marriage costume.

Nos. 22 and 23 are omitted from the inventory of 1821.

These were, nevertheless, apparently deposited with the Comte de Turenne, and probably formed part of the objects returned in 1852, only it was not thought well to exhibit them at the Musée des Souverains. A note on page 236 of the Catalogue simply says that four pairs of white shoes, embroidered with gold, were preserved at the Louvre.

No. 24. Two caps of black velvet with their plumes. State costume.

No. 25. Two hats with their plumes. State costume.

LIST B.—"Inventory of the effects which I left with M. le Comte de Turenne: A hat 'à la Henri IV.,' and my cap. I give to my son . . . the hat 'à la Henri IV.'"

POUPART, *private hatter to the Emperor:*

Two hats with plumes, one of which embroidered with gold, designed by Isabey, at 660 fr.	1,020 fr.

It is to one of these hats that was attached the loop adorned with twenty-six diamonds composed: (1) Of a great diamond weighing 25⅝ carats, of an oblong form, valued at 180,000 fr., bought 18 Frimaire, An XIII; (2) Of twelve brilliants surrounding the great diamond, and worth 7,560 fr. a-piece; and (3) Of thirteen brilliants mounted in two parallel lines to form the actual loop. Total—365,000 fr.

This loop appears on the hat in the drawing of Isabey—undress of the Emperor. It may appear on a cap in subsequent portraits.

(See the note of M. Germain Bapst, *Revue de Famille* XVI., p. 579.)

No. 26. Three pairs of gloves embroidered with gold. State costume.

Mdes. LOLIVE, DE BEUVRY, et Cie. : Embroidering with gold two pairs of gloves at 33 fr.

Mlle. FOURNET, *embroiderer :* One pair of white gloves and one pair of white silk stockings embroidered with gold . 94 fr.

Among the objects returned by the Comte de Turenne, and not exhibited at the Musée des Souverains :—

Three pairs of white gloves embroidered with gold, one pair of white gloves embroidered with silk, two pairs of white gloves without embroidery.

No. 27. Seventeen muslin collars for the costume.

No. 28. Three pairs of ruffles of needle-point given by the Empress Joséphine.

No. 29. Three neck-bands, English point, given by the Empress Joséphine.

No. 30. A pair of ruffles, English point.

No. 31. A neck-band, English point.

No. 32. Two pairs of ruffles, English point.

No. 33. Two neck-bands, English point.

Mdes. LOLIVE, DE BEUVRY, et Cie. furnished for the Coronation two sets, each composed of two pairs of cravats, a pair of cuffs, and a collar of superfine *point de réseau* . . . . . 4,000 fr.

No. 34. A neck-band, Brussels point, given by the city of Brussels.

No. 35. A necktie, Brussels point, given by the city of Brussels.

No. 36. Two pairs of ruffles, English point, given by the town of Alençon.

No. 37. Two neckties, English point, given by the town of Alençon.

No. 38. A pair of ruffles, Valenciennes point, given by the Empress Joséphine.

No. 39. A necktie, Valenciennes point, given by the Empress Joséphine.

No. 40. A ruff and a necktie, English point, given by the Empress Marie Louise.

No. 41. A pair of ruffles, given by the Empress Marie Louise.

None of the objects comprised under the numbers 27 to 41 were taken to St. Helena. They remained in the charge of the Comte de Turenne. The Emperor remembered

them, and pointed them out as forming part of the deposit, "*The Emperor's Lace*," and he added, "I give my lace to the Empress Marie Louise."

Musée des Souverains, Nos. 226, 227: *Cravat, shirt collar, and ruffles which were worn by the Emperor on the day of his Coronation. They are of lace.*

In the absence of any description it is impossible to say to which of the numbers of the inventory the title of the Musée des Souverains applies. We shall have the opportunity in a later work to explain on what occasions the presents of the different towns and of the Empresses were made to the Emperor.

§ 2. Dress Coats.

No. 42. A coat of violet velvet, embroidered with gold and silk, given by the town of Lyons.

No. 43. A coat of cerise velvet, embroidered with gold and silk, given by the town of Lyons.

No. 44. Two coats of stamped velvet embroidered with silk, given by the town of Lyons.

One only of these coats, probably the one of cerise velvet, No. 43, was carried to St. Helena. But this is the reason why it does not appear in the inventory: "One morning, Hortense Bertrand—afterwards Madame Thayer —then nine years old, came with her father to Longwood and went into Napoleon's room. The Emperor, seeing

her in a yellow dress of an ugly colour and material, said to her, "You are badly dressed to-day." "Sire," replied the Grand Marshal, "the dress comes from St. Helena, and the choice is not great." "Wait a minute," replied the Emperor, "I will give you something to make a pretty frock," and searching in a cupboard he drew out this coat, which he put on the shoulders of the child: "At least," he added, "you will be handsome."

This coat was left by Madame Thayer to His Imperial Highness Prince Victor Napoleon.

The First Consul appears to have been represented as wearing one of these coats in the great drawing of the Signing the Concordat by Gérard, and in the drawing of the Visit to the Manufactory of the Brothers Sevenne, at Rouen, by Isabey.

No indication is to be found of the fate of the three other coats.

No. 45. A coat of plain brown velvet, given by the Empress Marie Louise.

This coat is perhaps the one made in 1810 by Léger, Murat's tailor, and of which many memoir writers have spoken. There was certainly a brown coat made in 1810 (Arch. Nat. o^2, fo. 48), which was paid for by the Garde-Robe, but is it the same? The note of the inventory of 1814, "*Given by the Empress Marie Louise,*" is precise; but on the other hand, in the accounts of Marie Louise I find no payment made to a tailor for a man's coat.

No. 46. Two waistcoats of white satin embroidered with gold and silver, given by the town of Lyons.

No. 47. Two waistcoats of plain brown velvet, given by the Empress Marie Louise.

No. 48. A pair of knee-breeches of plain brown velvet, given by the Empress Marie Louise.

No. 49. A pair of knee-breeches of black silk cloth.

We find a pair of knee-breeches of black kerseymere, and one of black silk cloth, made in January 1813.

II. ARTICLES OF ORDINARY AND DAILY USE.

§ 1. Uniforms.

No. 1. Five general's coats.

"Of which one was worn at Marengo, and given to General Bertrand at Fontainebleau" (*Inventory of* 1814).

Musée des Souverains, No. 219: *The coat of a general of division worn by the First Consul at Marengo. Left in charge of the Comte de Turenne. Given to the Musée des Souverains by H.M. Napoleon III.*

Here is a contradiction which we cannot undertake to explain. It is always to be supposed that Charvet, the keeper of the wardrobe, who drew up the inventory of 1814, is not mistaken, and it is much more likely to be the author of the "Notice of the Musée des Souverains," a notice drawn up without any kind of authority. If this hypothesis is admitted, this makes two coats the fate of which is known. Three have still to be found.

No. 2. Two coats of the "Institut."

We know, from the excellent book of M. Maindron, that Napoleon was present in all at thirty-eight meetings of the

Institut; but the *arrêté* by which he fixed the costume of members of the Institut is dated only the 23 Floréal, year IX, and since that date the First Consul was present at only a single sitting, that of 16 Brumaire, year X. There exists no contemporary representation of Napoleon in that costume.

No. 3. A coat of the Council of State, and a waistcoat.

We are entirely ignorant as to what can have become of Nos. 2 and 3. According to the above note (No. 1) we may presume that these articles, like the others, may have been deposited with the Comte de Turenne. As they were of cloth, were they eaten up by moths? or are they to be found still with the descendants of the Master of the Wardrobe?

No. 4. Six grenadier's coats.

No. 5. Five "chasseur" coats.

By the letter dated August 19th, 1811, addressed to the Grand Marshal, the Emperor arranged in the following manner the supply of his coats:—

"1 grenadier's coat on January 1st, with epaulettes, etc.
"1 'chasseur' coat on April 1st, with epaulettes, etc.
"1 grenadier's coat, on July 1st, with epaulettes, etc.
"1 'chasseur' coat, October 1st, with epaulettes, etc.

"At 360 francs each . . 1,440 fr.

"Each coat ought to last three years."

The explanatory note of Duroc, dated Trianon, August 26th, 1811, is thus expressed: "Alterations ought only to take place when the existing quantities of the different articles exceed the quantities which ought to form the stock, so that the stock should be always complete. For alterations, the permission of His Majesty must be obtained. Thus, for example, each year four uniform coats are supplied, each of which ought to last three years. There ought, therefore, to be always a stock of twelve coats."

Consequently, in ordinary times, four coats ought to be renewed every year, and it is this only which explains the comparatively large number of coats existing which may have authentically belonged to the Emperor.

When the time to renew a garment arrived, or when anything was required, the Keeper of the Wardrobe made a demand for it in writing to the Master of the Wardrobe, who passed it and at once sent it on to the tradesman. It was on this requisition that the Keeper of the Wardrobe gave the receipt for the articles when they had been approved and considered satisfactory. The tradesman was required to attach this receipt to his bill to obtain payment.

The articles, when they were ready, were presented to His Majesty at his toilet by the Master of the Wardrobe, to see if they fitted, and if they suited His Majesty. Then only the keeper entered them in his inventory and gave a receipt for them.

The grenadier's coat furnished by Chevalier, lined with scarlet cloth, with epaulette-loops, and plated grenade, cost . .	250 fr.
The epaulettes of the rank of Colonel, with nineteen fringe drops, lined with scarlet cloth	148 fr.
The badge of the grand cross on the coat .	62 fr.
Total	360

The coat of the "chasseur à cheval" cost only 200 francs. The accessories the same price.

In 1815 Lejeune made the grenadier's coats at 350 fr. and the chasseur's coats at 330 fr. (including epaulettes and badge). The two coats of the National Guard, delivered January 19th, 1814, and in May 1815, cost the same price as the chasseur's coat.

The grenadier's coats especially were often cleaned and repaired. The tailor lined and refaced them for 30 fr. the coat.

At St. Helena, in 1821, the Emperor had only two uniforms of the grenadiers, two chasseur, and one of the National Guard. He was dressed after his death in a uniform of the chasseurs of his guard. By his will he disposed, in favour of his son, of a chasseur's uniform, one of the grenadier's, and one of the National Guard. The grenadier's uniform remaining was allotted to Marchand in the division of his effects, who presented it, July 4th, 1856, to the Musée des Souverains.

Musée des Souverains, No. 392. *Uniform of grenadier of the guard.* "*This uniform of grenadier of the Imperial Guard of the year* 1813, *adorned with gold epaulettes, and with a badge of the Legion of Honour, was balloted for, and fell to my lot.*"

(*Note by Count Marchand.*)

The three other uniforms ought to be found in the hands of members of the family. Prince Napoleon possessed the uniform of the National Guard.

No. 6. Seventy-four pairs of knee-breeches of white kerseymere.

No. 7. Seventy-four waistcoats of white kerseymere.

The order of August 19th, 1811, is thus expressed :—

Forty-eight white knee-breeches and waistcoats at 80 fr. . . . . 3,840 fr.

"They will be supplied weekly, and ought to last three years." The whole quantity, according to this order, ought therefore to have been 144; but for several reasons it never seems to have been reached. In 1812, 54 waistcoats and 54 knee-breeches were burned during the retreat, which was the occasion of an almost complete renewal of the wardrobe.

Chevalier, in the year XIII, charged 90 fr. for waistcoat and knee-breeches. It was reduced to 85 fr. in 1808. Lejeune, in 1813—1815, charged only 64 fr. for the two.

The waistcoats did not have uniform buttons; they had buttons covered with white silk.

At St. Helena the Emperor had only 23 pairs of knee-breeches of white kerseymere, and nine waistcoats.

He was dressed in one pair of knee-breeches and one waistcoat after death.

Four pairs of knee-breeches and four waistcoats were assigned to his son by his will.

Bertrand had six pairs of knee-breeches, Montholon six, Marchand six.

Marchand had the four remaining waistcoats.

This was carrying out § 1 of List A: "*None of the articles which I have used shall be sold; what is over is to be divided between the executors of my will and my brothers.*"

The 4th of July, 1856, Count Marchand presented to the Musée des Souverains "*a pair of knee-breeches and a uniform waistcoat of white kerseymere used by the Emperor at St. Helena.*"

These objects were numbered 293 and following numbers, but the government of the Emperor Napoleon III. did not think well to exhibit them.

No. 8. Twelve pantaloons of white kerseymere.

No. 9. Twelve waistcoats of white kerseymere.

The pantaloons and waistcoats were among the exceptional articles, the ordering of which had not been provided for by the order of August 19th, 1811.

Nevertheless they constantly occur, and it is certain that with riding-boots the Emperor preferred to wear tight pantaloons, and that with half-boots the First Consul wore

only pantaloons. At the Island of Elba the Emperor wished to return to these white pantaloons buttoned at the bottom, which he wore with top-boots; but he found them inconvenient, and returned to knee-breeches of white kerseymere.

For these pantaloons, with the waistcoat, Chevalier charged 100 fr., year XIII; 95 fr., 1808.

None of these pantaloons of white kerseymere were found at St. Helena. On the other hand, there were—

1. Three "charivaris" (blue, nankeen, purple). It is very possible that the nankeen charivari which fell to Marchand's share was made at St. Helena. As to the charivari of sky-blue which fell to Montholon, it had been delivered in June 1815 by Lejeune, and cost 120 fr. The purple charivari supplied by the same, and which Bertrand had, cost 125 fr.

It has been always said that "charivaris" were pantaloons lined with leather between the legs, and buttoning outside from top to bottom, so that they could be put over other pantaloons. It appears that the second part of the definition is true, but that the first part is possibly incorrect. There exists, moreover, no representation of the Emperor with a "charivari." Nevertheless he wore pantaloons of this shape, especially when travelling. On October 6th, 1806, during the Prussian campaign, there were sent to him five pairs of pantaloons, described as travelling; two blue, two purple, one sky-blue. Another delivery of a pair of travelling pantaloons of blue Louviers was made in 1807, and another of travelling pantaloons of grey, scarlet, and blue cloth in 1812.

2. Two pairs of knee-breeches of blue cloth.

3. Three pairs of pantaloons, and two waistcoats of nankeen.

One pair and a waistcoat were allotted to Montholon and Bertrand. One pair of pantaloons to Marchand.

These articles had, no doubt, been made at St. Helena.

4. Eleven piqué waistcoats and eleven pairs of nankeen knee-breeches.

Four to Montholon and Bertrand, three to Marchand. These articles had, no doubt, been made at St. Helena.

Nevertheless, Lejeune supplied, in May 1815, a waistcoat of white piqué, 36 fr.

It may be, perhaps, one of these.

No. 10. A helmet of brass, gilt and bronzed.

We can find no indication on the subject of this helmet. No doubt there exist different engravings, and several medals and intaglios, in which Napoleon is represented helmeted; but it has always appeared to be purely an artistic invention. The helmet was not found at St. Helena. No mention is made of it in the will. But may we not suppose that it remained with M. de Turenne?

One might suppose that it refers to the helmet which was to form part of the State dress of the grand chevaliers of the order of the Three Fleeces; this costume, settled at the sitting of the Council of Administration of August 3rd, 1811, comprised, in fact, "a helmet of simple form, with a gold ground and steel ornaments;" but this is on the supposition that the Emperor had it in contemplation to

furnish the grand chevaliers with helmets, for, between the 3rd to the 11th of August (when the inventory was drawn up), it is difficult to suppose that this helmet could have been made.

No. 11. Two general's hats, trimmed with gold.

No. 12. Three consul's hats.

None of these hats were found at St. Helena.

None seem to have been discovered since. It is all the more to be regretted, as the successive patterns of hats adopted by Bonaparte from 1796 to 1804 are very uncertainly known. Not that there is any lack of representations, but they are wanting in precision.

The hat of 1797, the one which Mechel shows in the engraving which he published at Basle, when the General passed through, which was so often pirated, is a hat almost in the style of Henry IV, bordered with broad gold lace, ornamented with a loop fastened by a button, and holding a large cockade of butterfly shape, the white of which appears at the edge. This hat is surmounted with a large flattened plume of eight tricoloured feathers. Bonaparte wore it squarely in battle, as he afterwards wore his *petit chapeau*. It is the hat which we find again in an original drawing of Lafitte, dated 1796. (Lafitte was in Italy at that date, and certainly saw Bonaparte). It is this which we see again in the portraits by Hilaire Le Dru, so often reproduced, and in the work in colours engraved by Bromley, "After an original drawing from Italy."

The hat which Napoleon wore after the battle of Marengo, as Consul, resembles much more the hat of a general of division; it is longer, and much less tall than that of 1797. It is not bordered with lace, but embroidered with a garland of oak leaves; this embroidery is on both sides. The turn up at the back is higher than that in front. The loop, which in the engraving by Birrel seems to be of diamonds, fastens on a round cockade, which is already much smaller. We have here, may we not affirm? the official hat of the Consulate, as represented in the engraving by Alix, after Appiani, the drawing by Isabey, "The Review of the Décadi," and in several other engravings, drawings, and paintings. But this is not so.

Quite recently, it is true, M. Germain Bapst, in a curious article which he published in the "*Vie Contemporaine*," has pointed out the existence of one of the Consul's hats. My friend and fellow-labourer, an investigator so erudite that one feels some embarrassment in submitting to him these objections, will nevertheless allow me to unfold my doubts to him. He says that this hat is preserved by Mme. Claite, granddaughter of M. Giraud, veterinary-surgeon in chief of the army, and private veterinary-surgeon to His Majesty the Emperor and King. At Marengo, said he, M. Giraud followed the Consul; the latter at a critical moment rushed forward, too intent to recover his hat, which the wind had carried away; M. Giraud dismounted and took the hat, which has since been preserved as a relic in the family.

Joseph Giraud was indeed veterinary in chief of the

stables, at the salary of 1,800 fr.; but he could not have been veterinary in chief of the army, for this office did not exist. It is curious that a servant of the Consul, picking up his master's hat, should not give it to him, but keep it for a relic. Nowhere is it said that Bonaparte was bare-headed at Marengo, and the eye-witnesses who have given an account of the battle would not have failed to mention it. All the contemporary representations, on the contrary, show the Consul wearing a very high hat, embroidered or trimmed with lace.

When on his way to the Coronation at Milan, the Emperor had the manœuvres performed during the battle repeated at Marengo. It is known that he had the fancy to dress again in the costume which he wore five years previously. Two eye-witnesses speak of his damaged hat, the gold lace of which had turned black. It is true that, without doubt, M. Bapst will take exception to these two witnesses, whose books he will say have been made up. There is no question that the *Mémoires* of Constant and of Mlle. Avrillon were not drawn up by them, but they were based on accurate notes, analogous to those of Roustam, and although errors of dates are to be met with, my researches have proved to me that the facts are accurately reported, and that Constant, for example, frequently gives information which no other memorialist furnishes, and of which the accounts of the Emperor, the most secret accounts, allow us to verify the accuracy. Thus, in the year XIII, according to these two witnesses, he still had the hat which he wore at Marengo in his ward-

robe. It is the same hat which was lent to David for his picture of Mount St. Bernard, and M. David, his son, asserts that his father had in his possession the complete dress of the Emperor.

It might perhaps be possible to verify this. The author of the pamphlet *Marengo et ses Monuments* possessed the case of Bonaparte's hat. Perhaps this case is still at Marengo, and it might be possible to ascertain whether the hat, the exact dimensions of which M. Germain Bapst gives—55 centimètres from one angle to the other, 26 centimètres in its greatest height—would go into it. But again, is it edged, as the hat of Marengo was? M. Bapst does not say, and it is very probable that if the hat belonging to Mme. Claite has neither lace, nor trace of having formerly had lace on it, it did not belong to the Consul.

No. 13. Seven plain hats.

The order dated August 19th, 1811, was to the effect that there were to be supplied:—

"Four hats a year, at the same time as the clothes." The complement, therefore, ought to have consisted of twelve hats; but it was rarely reached, as the Emperor often lost them,—witness the history of Boulogne, etc. In Russia, during the retreat, he lost three. Poupard, hatter, costumier, and lacemaker to the Emperor and the princes, charged at first 48 fr. (two louis) for his hats; then he raised them to 60 fr., but in settling 10 fr. was almost regularly deducted, which brought the French "beaver" to 50 fr.

The lining was often grey, always stitched with silk, and often renewed. The hat measured from 44 to 47 centimètres in length, and from 24 to 26 centimètres in height.

At St. Helena there remained in the Emperor's possession four uniform hats. One was placed in the coffin; a second was reserved by the Emperor for his son (it is this one which belongs at the present time to M. J. L. Gérôme, member of the Institut), one fell to Montholon, the fourth became the property of Marchand. It is this one which he presented to the *Musée des Souverains*, where it was exhibited as No. 391, and which is thus described by Marchand himself: "This hat, which the Emperor wore when he quitted France, adorned as it is with the national cockade, is that in which he arrived at St. Helena. Its lining was grey; it required changing. Santini put in the one at present in it. Having been afterwards done up, and shut up in a closet until the death of the Emperor, it then became an object of veneration, and was drawn lots for between Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, and myself. It fell to my share."

It may be allowed that from 1803, the time at which he began to wear the plain hat, known as the French hat, up to 1815, Napoleon must have worn nearly fifty hats. In addition to that of Marchand, there were three at the *Musée des Souverains*, and of these three, two were said to come from St. Helena. We have just seen why this is impossible. But they are none the less authentic, and their origin is known. As to the hats which different dealers have presented for some years past as hats belonging

to the Emperor, it is almost impossible to be certain that they ever belonged to him.

No. 14. Six gold aiguillettes.

In none of his portraits is the Emperor represented as wearing aiguillettes, a distinctive decoration of the Guard, of the troops *d'élite*, and of the staff. It may be supposed that he kept these aiguillettes in reserve to decorate those officers whom he called to his side to become aides-de camp. It is nevertheless remarkable that on July 14th, 1804, Stendhal, who had been in the army, and knew what he was talking about, mentions that he saw him pass in the uniform of a colonel of his Guards, with aiguillettes. He must, then, have sometimes worn them on ceremonial occasions, quite at the beginning of the Empire. None of these objects are to be found in the Inventory of 1821.

§ 2. Articles of Travel.

No. 15. A great cloak of blue cloth for bivouac.

Will, list A: "*A blue cloak, the one I had at Marengo.*" Bequeathed by the Emperor to his son.

List of personal property (1821). *A blue cloak, collar embroidered* (*Marengo*).

The precision with which the Emperor insists on the fact that this is the cloak of Marengo, forbids us to suppose that it can possibly be the cloak of "Louviers," for which 744 fr. was paid to Chevalier in 1809.

No. 16. A cloak "à la Mameluck" of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold.

Lost in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

No. 17. A furred cloak of green velvet, with frogs of gold, sable fur.

In the accounts two furred cloaks of this kind are to be found; the first (green velvet, trimmed with fur, with twelve barrel-buttons of gold) supplied at the moment of starting for Prussia in September 1806; the second, similar, of green velvet, with frogs and barrel-buttons, supplied the 26th March, 1813. In the picture by Lejeune of the Battle of Eylau, much more true to the facts than that by Gros, the Emperor appears to be represented with this cloak.

It is possible that this is the fur coat described in the list of personal property as a sable coat; it is, however, described by the Emperor in list A as a small sable waistcoat. In any case, this article perished, eaten by moths, while the executors made up their returns.

No. 18. A cloak of scarlet stuff, gold frogs, fur of red fox.

Restored to the Préfet of the Palace. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.) Is this the same as the "capote" of scarlet cloth, with barrel-buttons and frogs of gold, supplied November 10th, 1806?

The Emperor, as we see, made frequent use of fur

garments; those which are found in the Inventory of 1811 are far from being the only ones which he wore.

At Strasburg, in Frimaire, year XIV, he had a greatcoat made of grey, furred; in September 1806, the "capote" of green velvet as above; in 1807 a "witchoura" of yellow fox and of marten sable, which was transformed into a great coat the following year; in November 1806, the fur cloak of scarlet stuff No. 17.

In September 1808, Chevalier supplied a "capote" of grey velvet, of which the following are the particulars:—

Nine ells of grey velvet for capote, at 42 fr.	388 fr.*
The frogs with thirty barrel-buttons and group of acorns in bullion . . .	505 fr.
Making, and pockets for the capote . .	42 fr.
Badge of the Legion of Honour for the large capote	62 fr.
Total . . .	997 fr.

In December 1812, a fur coat of grey cloth wadded with edging and facings of chinchilla at 753 fr. 50; in March 1813, a fur coat of green velvet (above No. 16). We shall find others yet.

These fur coats generally had clasps in the form of a shield chased in relief. Thus the clasp furnished by

* The multiplication is wrong.

Biennais in September 1808, price 140 fr., and the clasp of silver gilt of the greatcoat made at Strasburg in 1805.

No. 19. Five velvet caps for carriage wear.

Lost in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The Emperor constantly wore these velvet caps not only in travelling, but also in war. He was furnished with several patterns.

In Vendémiaire, year XIII, two velvet caps at 21 fr. each.

In Frimaire, seven caps of Genoa velvet, trimmed with acorns, at 48 fr.

In August 1807, a cap of green velvet trimmed with gold, a band of Kamstchatka otter, 78 fr.; a cap of green velvet trimmed with gold, fur band, 60 fr.; a travelling cap of blue velvet; a green velvet cap trimmed with gold; a deep blue velvet cap trimmed with gold.

In 1811, eight caps of different colours, and a flat travelling cap of velvet.

In 1813, six velvet caps at 30 fr. (supplied by Poupard, Poupard and Delaunay, Maneglier).

It was a fur cap, a cap with a crown of green velvet, that he wore at Eylau, when he visited the field of battle.

It was a cap of crimson velvet, trimmed with sable, which he wore at the Beresina. He was dressed in the uniform of the chasseurs of the Guard, with white waistcoat and knee-breeches, and over it a fur-coat of sable.

In 1815 the Emperor had two travelling caps of black silk, bought at 3 fr. and 3·50 fr.

Not one of these caps was found at St. Helena

No. 20. Two sheets of skin.

Lost at Thorn. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The Emperor had for a long time made use of these sheets of skin when on campaign, which we find were cleaned in 1807, on his return from the war with Prussia.

§ 3. Hunting Clothes.

No. 21. Three hunting coats.

No. 22. Three shooting coats.

The order of August 19th, 1811, runs :—

"Two hunting coats, one for riding 'à la Saint Hubert'; one for shooting by August 1st, 860 fr."

"These coats ought to last three years."

The hunting coat, laced with gold and silver, supplied by Chevalier, cost 580 fr.; the shooting coat 190 and 200 fr.

Several of these coats were carried to St. Helena. The Emperor had the lace taken off the hunting coat, and wore it usually. A series of drawings by General Gourgaud and the English officers show him in this costume.

In the list of property (1821) no hunting coat is to be found, but among the private clothes at least one green coat, and one green greatcoat.

No. 23. Three hunting belts. Ordinary use.

In February 1806, a hunting belt, gold on calf-skin, clasp chased and dead.

In 1809, two hunting belts, gold lace, 100 fr. apiece.

Musée des Souverains, No. 239. Belt worn by the Emperor Napoleon I. to carry his hunting knife. Preserved by M. le Comte de Turenne. Given to the Musée des Souverains by the Emperor Napoleon III: length, ·950 m. It is of green velvet. Gold bees and stars are embroidered on the edges; a head of Medusa, in low relief, adorns the plate of silver which forms the fastening of the belt.

No. 24. Two hunting knives.

List of the personal property (1821). One hunting knife.

List A *attached to the will.* "*My hunting knife entrusted to Count Bertrand to be handed to my son when he is sixteen.*"

A hunting knife, which belonged to the Emperor, is at Rome, in the possession of Prince Napoleon Charles Bonaparte.

§ 4. Private clothes.

No. 25. Four cloth coats.

The order of August 19th, 1811, runs:—

"One private coat on November 15th. Ought to last three years, 200 fr."

At St. Helena, list of property, there are four private coats; two, one grey and one brown, are apportioned to Bertrand; one, green, is for Montholon. Marchand has the fourth, the colour of which is not mentioned.

In the accounts since 1810 there cannot be traced the making of more than five private coats; one brown in 1810, one blue and one brown in 1811, one green and one grey in 1812. (See Note to No. 21.)

No. 26. Six cloth greatcoats.

Three burned in Russia. (Note to Inventory of 1814.)

The colour of these greatcoats is not stated in the Inventory of 1811, and it is a mistake to believe that the Emperor wore grey greatcoats invariably. "During the latter years," says Madame d'Abrantès, "he often wore a blue greatcoat."

We find in the accounts of 1810 two greatcoats, one green and one blue; in January 1813, a green greatcoat; in January 1814, a green greatcoat; elsewhere, two *capotes* of blue cloth.

The order of August 19th, 1811, also says:—

"Two greatcoats, one grey, and the other of another colour, 400 fr.

"They are to be supplied yearly on October 1st, and will last three years."

The coloured greatcoat supplied by Chevalier cost 180 fr.

The grey greatcoat supplied by the same, 190 fr.

Here are the particulars when supplied by Lejeune:—

Greatcoat, 2½ ells grey cloth . . .	145 fr.
Making	15 fr.
3 ells of twill for the lining . . .	6 fr.
Cotton cloth for the pockets, including one for a portfolio, breast piece, cape, and flaps	6 fr.
Silk buttons	6 fr.
Total . .	178 fr.

At St. Helena (List of Property) there remained two greatcoats, one green.

The Emperor left to his son (List A) one grey and one green *capote.*

The grey *capote* which remained fell to Montholon's share in the drawing.

Musée des Souverains, No. 220. *The grey greatcoat of the Emperor Napoleon I, given to the Musée des Souverains by the Emperor Napoleon III.*

The following letter is attached to it: "The Emperor commands me to forward to you the hat and the grey greatcoat which belonged to the Emperor Napoleon I. His Majesty wishes that these objects, the authenticity of which has been established, may receive the position to which they are entitled in the Musée des Souverains." (Letter addressed on February 4th, 1854, to the Director-General of the Museums by the Grand Chamberlain, Duke de Bassano.—*Archives du Musée.*)

It is not stated where these objects came from; it might be presumed that they were those which were bequeathed by the Emperor to his son, sent by Marchand to General the Duke of Padua, as representative of Madame-Mère, and assigned by her to one of her children. But there is room for doubt, as it is known most certainly that the hat (see above, II., § 12) reserved by the Emperor for his son, assigned by Madame-Mère to her daughter Queen Caroline (Madame Murat), was given by her to M. F. B. de M——, whose son sold it to M. Gérôme. I have had in my hands all the incontrovertible proofs of its authenticity. Therefore

it is not the hat of St. Helena which was at the *Musée des Souverains*, and as for the greatcoat, authentic as it seems to be (no doubt it is the one which at present is to be found at the *Musée d'Artillerie*), it would be well to know how it came into the hands of Napoleon III.

No. 27. Four waistcoats of white piqué.

(See No. 9 above.)

No. 28. One waistcoat of black silk cloth.

A similar waistcoat furnished by Lejeune in 1815.

No. 29. A black kerseymere waistcoat.

No. 30. A pair of black kerseymere knee-breeches.

Similar knee-breeches were provided by Lejeune in January 1813, and in June 1815.

No. 31. Three round hats.

"In private dress," said Madame d'Abrantès, "he had a round hat, worn down over his eyes, and put on upright."

We find a round hat at 36 fr. supplied August 19th, 1808, and in Frimaire, year XIII, a round hat with a gold buckle. In the order of August 19th, 1811, no provision is made for a supply of round hats. It forms part of exceptional requirements.

One was found at St. Helena (List of Property). The Emperor left it to his son (List A).

No. 32. Five dominoes for balls.

In 1810, two dominoes of taffetas.
In 1812, two dominoes; one grey, one blue.
In 1813, one domino of black levantine.
In the accounts of the petty cash :—

March 26th, 1809. To Constant, a bill of supplies of dominoes and masks made during the carnival	320 fr.
March 18th, 1811. To Constant, for masks and dominoes	628 fr.

The masks were black, blue, violet, etc.
None of these articles were found at St. Helena.

In addition to the private clothes in the inventories from 1811 to 1814, there was found at St. Helena, in the Emperor's wardrobe, besides the articles mentioned in the additional note to No. 9 above, a straw hat, which was assigned to General Bertrand. According to the accurate measurement taken from that hat, the Emperor was 57 centimètres round the head. This hat was bequeathed by Madame Thayer, *née* Bertrand, to his Imperial Highness Prince Victor Napoleon. Several contemporary representations exist of Napoleon in a straw hat, after drawings made by English officers at St. Helena. Horace Vernet was authorised by Grand Marshal Bertrand to paint from nature the hat and the nankeen costume of the Emperor. This picture has been engraved, and is not one of the least interesting of the works of the painter.

§ 5. Shoes and Stockings.

No. 33. Ninety-two pairs of white silk stockings.

Fifty-four pairs lost in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The order of August 19th, 1811, runs:—

"Two dozen pairs of silk stockings at 18 fr. (one pair every fortnight) . . . 432 fr.

"Ought to last six years."

"One day," said Marchand, "he asked me what the silk stockings which he wore cost."

"To your Majesty," said I, "they are 18 fr.?"

"And why dearer for me than for any one else? I don't understand that! Ought I to be robbed?"

"No, sire! I am glad to think that it is the quality, as well as the fact that it is for your Majesty, which raises the price."

The price of these stockings supplied by Panier did not change, but the quantities supplied did change: 60 pairs in 1807, 30 in 1808, 30 in 1810, 36 in 1813.

St. Helena (List of Property): 27 pairs of silk stockings.

Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand each had seven pairs.

By the List A, the Emperor left six pairs to his son.

No. 34. Two pairs of black silk stockings.

None were found at St. Helena.

They were an exceptional article, not included in the budget.

No. 35. Thirty pairs of shoes with buckles.

Twelve pairs lost in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The order of August 19th, 1811, runs :—

"Twenty-four pairs of shoes (one pair every fortnight, should last two years), 312 fr."

The complement would therefore be 48 pairs. This was never reached, for, as we have seen, the Emperor was always burning his shoes poking the fire.

The shoes, lined with silk, were supplied by Jacques. They cost 15 fr. a pair. Before they were worn by the Emperor, they, as well as the boots, were worn by Joseph Linden, wardrobe man, at wages of 1,200 fr. yearly, whose duty it was to make them easy.

At St. Helena the Emperor had only four pairs of shoes. One was left to his son by List A. The three others were divided between the executors. But it seems doubtful if these shoes were brought from France. Those which fell to the lot of General Bertrand are very big, very heavy, very thick, and of what seems to be English workmanship. They are a centimètre longer than the slippers which came from Paris.

No. 36. Three pairs of shoes with strings.

The shoes with strings, also supplied by Jacques at the price of 15 fr., are an exceptional article.

These three pairs of shoes were lost in Russia. (Inventory of 1814.)

No. 37. Six pairs of plain slippers.

No. 38. Six pairs of slippers trimmed with fur.

The slippers are always of green or red morocco. They were furnished by Jacques, and cost 15 or 16 fr. Those which were lined with fur, or with lambskin, cost 18 fr.

The Emperor could not bear to part with his old slippers, and it is even asserted that, in 1815, his shoemaker showed an account for mending and re-sewing amounting to 18 fr., passed by the Master of the Wardrobe.

Napoleon, at St. Helena, had only four pairs of slippers, which were divided in the same way as the shoes (see above, No. 35). The slippers of red morocco, very much worn, which came from General Bertrand, measure exactly 26 centimètres in length.

No. 39. Twenty-two pairs of riding-boots.

According to the budget (order of August 19th, 1811) there were to be supplied "six pairs of boots, to last two years, 600 fr."

The complement ought then to have consisted of twelve pairs.

The boots supplied by Jacques, lined with morocco or silk plush, uniformly cost 80 fr. One pair only, made in Germany in the year XIV, cost 100 fr.

In 1821 there were found in the wardrobe four pairs of boots. They were divided as the shoes and slippers.

The pair which fell to Marchand's lot, given by him to the Musée des Souverains, was not exhibited.

No. 40. Two pairs of boots, with tops.

It is not known when they passed into the wardrobe, and he did not generally wear them. It has been seen above (Nos. 8 and 9) that the Emperor tried to bring himself to wear them during his stay at the Island of Elba. None are found among the property at St. Helena.

§ 6. Linen.

No. 41. Nine dozen of shirts.

Six dozen were burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

Each shirt took 2.88 m. of fine linen, which cost 20 fr. per ell (84 centimètres). The cloth was supplied by Mdlles. Lolive and de Beuvry. The shirt, including making, and supplied washed, cost 48 fr., sometimes 60 fr.

According to the order of August 19th, 1811, four dozen of shirts were to be supplied yearly, which were to last six years. (Credit opened 2,830 fr.—58 to 59 fr. per shirt.) The complement, which seems to have never been reached, ought then to consist of twenty-four dozen.

Washing, by Madame Durand, *A la Pologne*, Rue de la Bienfaisance, cost 60 centimes a shirt; by Barbier, at Neuilly, 50 centimes.

At St. Helena the Emperor still had eighty-seven shirts of fine linen. He bequeathed six of these to his son. Each of his executors received twenty-seven.

No. 42. Seven dozen of white cravats.

Five dozen burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The white cravats are Indian muslin, which cost 45 fr. the ell.

They were supplied by Mdlles. Lolive and de Beuvry, who used 56 centimètres of muslin for each cravat.

According to the order of August 19th, 1811, two dozen of cravats was to be supplied yearly. (Credit opened 720 fr.—30 fr. per cravat.) They were to last six years. The complement was to consist of twelve dozen.

Washing of them by Madame Durand cost 20 centimes per cravat.

At St. Helena (List of Property) no white cravats are to be found, and yet in List A (will) the Emperor left six to his son.

No. 43. Twelve black silk stocks.

Eleven burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

These silk stocks, supplied by Mdlles. Lolive and de Beuvry, cost 8 fr. apiece. They were thick, very high and heavy, made on a foundation of double or triple strong cloth.

According to the order of August 19th, 1811, a dozen were to be supplied yearly. They were fastened behind with a small gold buckle. (See below iv. C., No. 8.)

At St. Helena (List of Property) four are found. The Emperor left them to his son (List A). However, after the division among the executors, two only were reserved for Napoleon II. Bertrand and Montholon each received one.

No. 44. Twelve dozen of pocket-handkerchiefs.

Eight dozen burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The handkerchiefs supplied by Mdlles. Lolive and de Beuvry were of lawn; either plain white, or with borders, and printed in different colours, but always with the crowned initial. They cost uniformly 12 fr. apiece.

According to the order of August 19th, 1811, four dozen a year were to be supplied. They were to last six years. The complement therefore was twenty-four dozen.

Washing a pocket-handkerchief by Madame Durand cost 20 centimes; by Barbier (1810) 15 centimes.

At St. Helena (List of Property) sixty-three handkerchiefs are found. Although by List A the Emperor left six of them to his son, the executors each received twenty.

No. 45. Nineteen dozen of towels.

Twelve dozen burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The toilet towels are of cloth of Courtrai, supplied by Mdlles. Lolive and de Beuvry, and cost 8 fr. the ell. The towel was an ell square.

But yet, according to the order of August 19th, 1811, a credit of 720 fr. is opened for the yearly supply of two dozen of towels, which would then come to 30 fr. each.

Washing a towel by Madame Durand (1806) cost 20 centimes, by Barbier (1810) 15 centimes.

At St. Helena (List of Property) fifteen towels appear. Although the Emperor left six to his son, the executors divided them, and each received five.

No. 46. Three dozen of wrapping towels.

Two dozen burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

I come across no information on this head.

No. 47. Three dozen of merino socks.

Two dozen burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The woollen or merino socks were supplied by Panier, and cost 2.50 fr. a pair.

According to the order of August 19th, 1811, two dozen a year were to be supplied. And the Emperor opened a credit of 432 fr., which would put the pair of socks at 18 fr.—the same price as the pair of silk stockings. However, the invoice of Panier in 1808 fixes the figure at 2.50 fr.

At St. Helena (List of Property) there remained eighteen pairs of these socks. As the Emperor left six pairs to his son, the executors divided twelve pairs among them.

One of these pairs of socks, which belonged to General Bertrand, was bequeathed by Mme. Thayer, *née* Bertrand, to His Imperial Highness Prince Victor Napoleon. These socks, very much worn at the toe, measure a little less than 26 centimètres in length.

§. 7. Articles for Bedroom Use.

No. 48. Twelve dressing-gowns of quilted dimity.

Eight burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The dressing-gowns of quilted dimity, sometimes lined with cotton flannel, were supplied by the tailor. Chevalier in 1808 charged 200 fr. Lejeune (1813-1815) 175 fr., and 130 fr. when they were not lined.

The order of August 19th, 1811, orders the yearly supply of one dressing-gown of twill on May 1st. It was to last three years, and credit is opened for 250 fr.

Washing a dressing-gown cost 3 fr. by Madame Durand, 2.50 fr. by Barbier.

At St. Helena (List of Property) eight are found. Two were left by Napoleon to his son. The six others were divided among the executors.

No. 49. Six flannel dressing-gowns.

Four burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.

I find no particulars on the subject of the flannel dressing-gowns, which, perhaps, in the invoice and in the Inventory of 1821 are included with the twill dressing-gowns. The

same credit (250 fr.) was opened for both. A single one was to be supplied yearly, on October 1st, which was to last three years.

No. 50. Twelve pairs of drawers, with feet of fustian.

Five burned in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The drawers of fustian at 22 fr., supplied by Chevalier in 1808; the pantaloons of fine wool, at 21 fr., supplied by Panier the same year; the drawers with feet, of fustian, at 28 fr., supplied by Lejeune in 1815, may serve to fix an average price.

The Emperor, by the order of August 19th, 1811, ordered the yearly supply of a pair of drawers with feet, of twill (credit open, 30 fr.), and of a pair of drawers of fustian (credit open, 30 fr.). But unless these pantaloons with feet are represented by the cloth drawers at 20 fr. each, supplied at different times by Chevalier, I do not find any trace.

At St. Helena (List of Property) there remain nine night (*sic*) drawers. The Emperor, by List A, left two of them to his son. The executors divided six.

No. 51. Three waistcoats of quilted taffetas.

Chevalier supplied, in Germinal, year XIII, four waistcoats of quilted silk at 48 fr. apiece; he supplied, in October 1808, four waistcoats of quilted taffetas at 54 fr. each

It is an exceptional article, and does not reappear at St. Helena.

No. 52. Twelve bandanas for the head.

Eight lost in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The bandanas were to cost one louis each (24 fr.). Six a year were to be supplied, and they were to last three years. Washing them cost 20 centimes.

Nineteen were found at St. Helena. The Emperor (List A) left six to his son. Bertrand received four, Montholon four, Marchand two.

There is no information as to what became of the three others.

No. 53. Thirty-six flannel waistcoats.

Thirty lost in Russia. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

The flannel waistcoats supplied by the tailor cost 30 fr. apiece (Chevalier, Germinal, year XIII); 38 fr. (the same, September 1808); 40 fr. (the same, December 1808); 40 fr. Lejeune, tailor to the Emperor, put them at 30 fr.

According to the order of August 19th, 1811, forty-eight a year were to be delivered, at the price of 30 fr.

They were to last three years.

Washing, by Mme. Durand, cost 1 fr.; by Barbier, 60 centimes.

There were found at St. Helena twenty-one flannel waistcoats. Six were left by the Emperor to his son. The executors divided the other fifteen.

No. 54. Nine waistcoats of cashmere.

Burnt at Orcha. (Note to the Inventory of 1814.)

We find the making, at 10 fr. each, by Chevalier in 1808, of six cashmere waistcoats. No other particulars.

III. ARMS.

No. 1. A sword of gold, scabbard of tortoiseshell, with case. Grand costume of the Legion of Honour.

Supplied by Biennais, "Au Singe Violet," the 7th Brumaire, year XIII: "A sword with gold handle, the guard formed of two eagles bearing, in saltire, a cross of the Legion of Honour in enamel. Eagles on a crown of stars of the number of the cohorts of the Legion. Inscription—'VENI, VIDI, VICI,' 'HONNEUR ET PATRIE.' The pommel decorated with the Iron Crown, the Imperial crown, and crowns of laurel." Cost 7,000 fr.

The box, 192 fr.

This sword does not appear in the Inventory of 1821.

It appears to be the same as that exhibited as No. 173 at the Musée des Souverains, of which the description is as follows:—"Sword of State of the Emperor Napoleon I. Given to the Musée des Souverains by the Emperor Napoleon III." (Length, 0·910 m.)

The blade, narrow and thin, is of steel, ornamented at the upper part, but on one side only, with inlays of gold, chased, the principal designs of which are an imperial crown, the letter N, initial of the name of Napoleon, the

Imperial eagle, and lower down, the letters I.R. (*Imperator Rex*).

The hilt is of gold richly and finely chased; an eagle crowned, and wearing on his neck the cross of the Legion of Honour, is placed on the middle of the guard, resting his talons on an escutcheon bearing the letter N, a garland of stars, and the motto "VENI, VIDI, VICI." On the bow of the guard is the inscription "HONNEUR ET PATRIE." Bees, surrounded with laurels, decorate the top-knot. The pommel is composed of four crowns superposed; the first of olive and oak, the second of stars, the third is the Iron Crown, the fourth the Imperial Crown. The end of the pommel can be used as a seal. On it are engraved the arms of the Empire, with the words, "NAPOLEON, EMPEROR AND KING." (The two sides of the hilt are similar.)

The scabbard of tortoiseshell *semé* with eagles and bees, which are of gold inlaid and engraved, is provided, in three places, with fittings of gold chased, the principal subjects of which are thunderbolts, bees, and palms.

The goldsmith who executed this sword engraved his name on the upper extremity of the scabbard, at a spot covered by the point of the guard: "BIENNAIS, GOLDSMITH TO THEIR MAJESTIES," and on the other side "À PARIS, 1806."

This date is unfortunate for identification. But wrong readings are frequent in the Catalogue of M. Henry Barbey de Jouy. In any case the identity of the two descriptions is singular.

No. 2. Two swords mounted with gold, with their scabbards mounted with gold. Ordinary use. An extra scabbard for the above.

Inventory of 1821. A sword, which H. M. wore at Austerlitz. Left by the Emperor to his son.

Entrusted to Grand-Marshal Bertrand: "I charge Count Bertrand to take care of and keep these objects, and to hand them to my son when he is sixteen."

Given by Count Bertrand to King Louis Philippe in 1840.

Deposited in the "cella" of the Tomb at the Invalides.

Invoice of Biennais in 1806: "A sword fitted with gold of 20 carats, chased. The hilt ornamented below with the Iron Crown surrounded with a crown of laurels; the middle with the heads of Minerva and Hercules on medallions enriched with arabesques. The pommel with helmet and owl; the bow ornamented with eagles and bees, and terminated with a small antique lion's head. The guard, formed of a reversed shell, with an eagle resting on thunderbolts, chased on a shield the edge of which is ornamented with sixteen bees, the number of the sixteen cohorts. The blade of cast steel, and inlaid with ornaments. The scabbard is of tortoiseshell, the rings and the tip of gold—5,700 fr.

"Doing up equal to new the gold sword of His Majesty, taking to pieces and cleaning the parts, engraving and inlaying on the blade these words, 'The sword which the Emperor wore at the battle of Austerlitz.'"

If the sword paid for in 1806 is not that of Austerlitz, at any rate it is almost similar. But what ought to arrest

attention is that from 1811 to 1814 the Emperor had actually only two swords in ordinary use, that in 1821 there was only one, and that this one which is his sword is at the Invalides.

It cannot be denied, nevertheless, that the accounts of the wardrobe of the Emperor, although very incomplete, contain indication of much more numerous supplies of swords. It is known that one of these swords was given by Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander; but this is the only one the fate of which is known. The sabre which he carried in his Italian campaigns he sent to Eugène as a present in the month of January 1808; the sabre which he used at Marengo he gave to his brother Jérome; a sabre which he had made by Biennais at a cost of 14,500 fr. he gave to his brother Louis; a sword (*glaive*), also made by Biennais and costing 7,000 fr., he gave to the King of Bavaria. He gave sabres to Russian officers in large numbers, but these are not the swords which he wore; and yet there is a sword of his pattern supplied in the year XIV, two in 1806, one in 1808, and there are several others. This point, then, is one of those which most require clearing up; and, without professing to give an explanation, I propose to put the question—To whom did Napoleon give these swords? What is become of them?

No. 3. A sword, French pattern, of silver gilt.

In 1821 this sword was in the charge of M. the Count of Turenne. The Emperor left it to his son (List B) Not to be found.

No. 4. A sword, ivory hilt, scabbard of mother-of-pearl. Costume of the First Consul.

In 1821 this sword was in the charge of Count Turenne. The Emperor left it to his son (List B).

Musée des Souverains, No. 168. *Sword of Napoleon, First Consul. It is this which the Emperor in his will calls his sword, and which he left to his son* (*length* 0·910 *m.*).

The blade is of quadrangular steel, finishing in a point, ornamented in the upper part with inlays of gold, the subjects of which are trophies, and which are raised on an unpolished ground. The hilt of ivory is almost cylindrical, carved at the sides, enriched on the two flat surfaces with trophies chased on a relief of silver gilt, consisting of arms and standards, and having in the middle a shield, the ground of which, of red enamel, bears the head of Medusa chased in gold; above the shield is an escutcheon on which are the raised letters, of gold and blue enamel, R.P.F. (*République Française*). *Two eagles are chased in gold on the guard, which is of silver gilt, ornamented with red enamel, and on the side towards the blade are two medallions containing the words:* Manufacture à Versailles, Boutet, Directeur Artiste. *The pommel is formed by two lions' heads, back to back, of silver gilt, chased in high relief.*

The scabbard (*No.* 169, *length,* 0·775 *m.*). *Is formed of plates of mother-of-pearl, with pearls set in the gilt fittings. At the upper part and towards the point ornaments chased on the metal form the decorative portion; a few medallions, the ground of which is of red enamel, add a little colour to the*

lustre of the metal; on one of these medallions is a head of the Republic, on that on the opposite side a figure of the Country, and the finely chased trophies which join the two together are composed of an assemblage of the instruments used in trade, the sciences, and the arts.

At the Museum of Artillery (J. 386, and J. 418, collection Lepel-Cointet) will be found two swords of the First Consul which have no connection with the one of the Musée des Souverains, the authenticity of which seems more than doubtful. In addition to this, it is in this Lepel-Cointet collection that a cross of a commander of the Legion of Honour of the CONSULATE is to be seen!

No. 5. A sword with a flat blade, guard of ivory.

Not found.

No. 6. A sabre which His Majesty carried at the battle of Aboukir.

There is no doubt that the Emperor, at Fontainebleau, gave to General Drouot an Oriental sabre; but was it the one he carried at the battle of Aboukir? The best informed biographer of Drouot says simply of this sabre, presented by the General to the town of Nancy, and since that time preserved in the Museum of that town: "A magnificent scimitar which the Emperor had worn for a long time before making a present of it to him." In the Inventory of 1821, drawn up at St. Helena, we find "A sabre, the one which His Majesty carried at Aboukir."

This sabre, the Emperor by mistake confounded with the sabre of Sobieski, which was not at St. Helena, but which remained in charge of the Count de Turenne; and it thus came about that he bequeathed the sabre of Sobieski twice to his son (1. Will, § 2; 2. List B). As a matter of fact the sabre which he carried at Aboukir, although it was actually at St. Helena, no longer belonged to him; he had given it in 1814, at Fontainebleau, to General Bertrand.

(See below, No. 13.)

No. 7. Two Mameluke swords.

Given to the King of Naples (Inventory of 1814).

No. 8. A sabre which had belonged to the King of Poland.

This sabre, designated in List B as the sword of Sobieski, in the Inventory as "given by the town of Warsaw," was in 1821 deposited with Count Turenne.

It may be asked if this does not refer to the sabre preserved in the Museum of Artillery under number J. 119, as that of Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, and received at the Museum in 1861, from the National Library. M. du Cassé, formerly *aide-de-camp* of King Jerome, says ("Les Dessous du Coup d'État," p. 234) that this sword, which came into the hands of King Jerome in the division of property belonging to Napoleon I., must have been bought back by the Prince President about 1851 for the sum of 7,000 fr., and deposited in the Museum of Artillery.

No. 9. A sabre, the hilt of ivory, the scabbard of iron, adorned with gold stars. (*Pattern.*)

Is this the sword described in List B as existing in charge of Count Turenne, which the Emperor calls "*an iron sword*," and which he left to his son?

No. 10. A sabre which His Majesty carried at the battle of Mont-Thabor.

Given by His Majesty to Marshal the Duke of Tarento at Fontainebleau. (Inventory of 1814.)

Macdonald relates that when the Emperor gave him his sabre he said, "You may, without wounding your delicacy of feeling, accept a present of a different kind. It is the sabre of Mourad-Bey, which I carried at the battle of Mont-Thabor. Accept it in memory of me and of my friendship for you."

No. 11. A sabre with straight blade, guard of copper gilt.

Given to Count Turenne. (Inventory of 1814.)

No. 12. A sabre, the scabbard of which is of crystal. The blade engraved all over. This sabre has a band of red cloth embroidered with gold. The whole enclosed in a case.

Given to the Duke of Vicenza. (Inventory of 1814.)

No. 13. A sabre, the hilt of which is surmounted with a horse's head. The scabbard set with pearls. The whole enclosed in a case.

Given to Count Bertrand. (Inventory of 1814.)

General Bertrand, in his "*Exposé fait par l'ancien Grand-Maréchal Bertrand, relativement aux armes de Napoléon,*" says at page 5: "The Emperor presented me with the sabre which he carried at the battle of Aboukir."

The fact that the Emperor kept in his wardrobe the sabre which he had previously given to Bertrand is easily explained by the constant changes of residence of the Grand Marshal, and by the fact that the Emperor at St. Helena loved to have near him everything which recalled old times. He had also given to Bertrand (see the *Exposé* quoted above) his great travelling case, but yet he took it back into his wardrobe, and by his will left it to his son. Again, he borrowed of Madame Bertrand a medallion representing the Empress, and this medallion is included in the Inventory.

It is noticeable that, if in the will and codicils the sword of Sobieski is twice mentioned, no mention is made of the sabre given to General Bertrand; and the executors, in order to explain the confusion between the two mentions of the sabre of Sobieski, have drawn up this note: "The sabre included in List A (Will, § 2) is the one which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the possession of Count Bertrand."

No. 14. Three cases containing nothing.

No. 15. The hilt of a sword unmounted, antique.

"Hilt of an ancient sword," which in 1821 is deposited with Count Turenne.

Left by the Emperor to Prince Jerome. (List B, § 2.)

No. 16. A Mameluke dagger; the hilt of gold, the scabbard of velvet.

Described in the Inventory of 1821 as "A dagger;" Will, § 2, "My dagger."

Musée des Souverains, No. 170. *Dagger which belonged to the Emperor Napoleon I. It is this one which the Emperor, in his will, calls his dagger, and which he left to his son.*

(Length, 0.303 m.)

The hilt is Italian goldsmith's work of the sixteenth century; the composition is very ingenious, and the gold is chased with equal delicacy and taste. It consists of cartouches, the succession and interlacing of which form a sort of network, set here and there as in an elegant framework, with male or female heads, and on the pommel with masks of lions. Enamels of varied colour are set in all the curves, the outlines of which they accentuate.

This fine poignard of the sixteenth century was presented to Napoleon Bonaparte, General-in-Chief of the Army of Egypt, after the taking of Malta. It had been up to that time in the possession of the Grand Masters of the Knights

of Malta, having been given to one of them, Jean Parisot de la Valette, by the Pope Pius IV, for his defence of Malta against the army of Soliman.

The sheath, of silver gilt, is enriched with red velvet; it was made by Biennais, goldsmith to the Emperor, and has his name engraved in the inside. The ornaments are delicately chased; on each side appears the Imperial eagle, crowned, and a bee.

It is right to keep to the statement of M. H. Barbey de Jouy, such as it is. In reality this dagger was carried off from the *Conservatorerie* of Malta at the same time as the sword of the Grand Master, La Valette, the rapier and the helmet of Manoel Vilhena, trophies of all sorts, the plate belonging to the churches and the knights, etc. According to Miège, III., 152, and Boisgelin, II., 220, it was given, not by the Pope, but by the King of Spain, Philippe II, to the Grand Master, La Valette.

No. 17. A sword-belt of black leather, gold buckle.

No. 18. A silk sword-belt.

Possibly the sword-belt of white silk supplied in 1811, which cost 36 fr.

No. 19. A cord of silk and gold, with ornaments of copper gilt.

No. 20. Two sword-belts of silk, with gold hooks.

No. 21. Three sword-hooks of gold.

No. 22. A sword-belt, with gold buckle.

Nos. 20 and 22. Six sword-belt buckles in the form of shields, adorned with heads of eagles, the initial N, and each furnished with an S, formed of a serpent, to serve as fastening; one for the silk belt, the others for the belt of reindeer skin, edged with gold, 1,268 fr. (Biennais).

In February, 1806, we find that ten belts of lacquered calfskin, with fittings of fine silver, were supplied; in 1815 there was a further supply of six sword-belts, at six fr. apiece.

At St. Helena one sword-belt only is to be found in the list of the division of property, which was given to Montholon.

IV. JEWELS.

A.—ORDERS BELONGING TO HIS MAJESTY.

§ 1. Legion of Honour.

No. 1. A grand collar of the Legion of Honour.

In 1821 this was in the charge of the Count de Turenne. The Emperor bequeathed it to his son.
(*See below, No.* 2.)

No. 2. Two grand decorations of the Legion of Honour.

One at St. Helena. *Inventory of* 1821. The Emperor bequeathed it to his son.

On June 24th, 1843, King Joseph charged M. Sapey, member of the Chamber of Deputies, to deposit in his name on the tomb of the Emperor the grand collar of the Legion of Honour, and two other objects which he wore habitually. On July 14th, 1843, M. Sapey forwarded to General Petit, Commandant of the Hôtel des Invalides, in the absence of Marshal Oudinot, Duc de Reggio, the grand collar, the grand cordon, and the badge of the Legion, which Napoleon was in the habit of wearing. The badge

was usually embroidered on his uniform, so that this was probably a chased badge. These three objects were deposited in the *Cella*.

The Emperor, in his coffin, was dressed in the grand cordon of the Legion. It was, perhaps, the second of the two grand decorations.

The badge of the Legion cost 62 fr., supplied by the tailor.

The cross, grand model, 150 fr., supplied by Biennais.

No. 3. Two crosses for state dress.

Lost in Russia. (Inventory of 1814.)

No. 4. Twelve small crosses.

No. 5. Five grand crosses of the Legion of Honour.

No. 6. Eight small officer's crosses.

The cross of gold, enamelled, supplied by Biennais, cost 75 fr.

Ribbon, with rosette, 0.37 centimes.

No. 7. Sixteen small crosses of the Legionnaire.

No. 8. One cross of the Legion of Honour.

Nos. 2 to 8.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. "Two orders of the Legion. One of these orders is on the uniform of the Emperor in the tomb." The second, to all appearance, must be the one described under No. 2.

"Three decorations of the Legion of Honour.
"One grand cross of the Legion of Honour.
"One cordon of the same order."
Inventory of May 5th, 1821 :
"One grand cross of the Legion of Honour.
"Two small crosses of the Legion of Honour.
"Three decorations of the Legion of Honour.
"One cordon of the Legion."

§ 2. The Iron Crown.

No. 9. Two grand decorations of Italy.

No. 10. Two crosses for state dress.

No. 11. Twelve small crosses.

Nos. 9 to 11.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. "Three decorations of the Iron Crown in the second tray of the snuff-box case." There remain only two decorations in the *Inventory of May 5th*. One therefore must have been in the tomb. The cross of the Iron Crown (the word cross here is quite inappropriate) supplied by Biennais, in gold enamelled, cost 90 fr.

§ 3. Order of the Réunion.

No. 12. Three small crosses of the Réunion.

No. 13. Two Badges.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. Three decorations of the Réunion.

Inventory of May 5th, 1821. Two decorations. One must be in the tomb.

No. 14. Three small crosses of France, of the Iron Crown, and of the Réunion.

(Not found in 1821.)

§ 4. Foreign Orders.

No. 15. A grand decoration of the Union of Holland.

No. 16. A grand cross.

No. 17. A grand decoration of the Golden Fleece.

No. 18. A grand collar of the Golden Fleece.

Deposited with Count Turenne. Bequeathed by the Emperor to his son. List B, § 1.

No. 19. A grand decoration of St. Andrew of Russia.

No. 20. A grand decoration of St. Anne of Russia.

No. 21. A grand decoration of St. Alexander of Russia.

No. 22. A grand decoration of the Black Eagle of Prussia.

No. 23. A grand decoration of the Red Eagle of Prussia.

No. 24. A grand decoration of the Faith of Baden.

No. 25. A grand decoration of the Elephant of Denmark.

No. 26. A grand decoration of Westphalia.

No. 27. A grand decoration of the Seraphim of Sweden.

No. 28. A grand decoration of St. Hubert of Bavaria.

No. 29. A grand decoration of the Green Crown of Saxony.

No. 30. A grand decoration of St. Henry of Saxony.

No. 31. A grand decoration of St. James of Portugal.

No. 32. A grand decoration of St. Joseph of Würtzburg.

No. 33. A grand decoration of Hesse Darmstadt.

No. 34. A grand decoration of St. Stephen of Austria.

No. 35. A grand decoration of St. Leopold of Austria.

No. 36. A grand decoration of the Golden Eagle of Wurtemburg.

With the exception of the grand collar of the Golden Fleece none of these decorations are to be found in the Inventory of 1821.

B.—BONBONNIÈRES AND SNUFF-BOXES.

At St. Helena the bonbonnières and snuff-boxes were contained in three boxes, one of which had a tray. One of these boxes is probably "the jewel case of mahogany with brass ornaments, lined and with divisions of white velvet, to contain the snuff-boxes of his Majesty," supplied by Biennais, in 1808, at a cost of 625 fr., and 45 fr. extra for a case of leather, lined with serge, to hold it, with the arms gilt on the top.

No. 1. A bonbonnière of tortoiseshell, with filigree of gold and enamel, ornamented with a portrait of the Queen of Naples, sister of the Emperor.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 9: Bonbonnière of tortoiseshell, adorned with a portrait of the Queen of Naples, sister of the Emperor.

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 2. A bonbonnière of tortoiseshell, portrait of Madame Mère.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 24: Bonbonnière ornamented with the portrait of Madame.

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 3. Two bonbonnières of tortoiseshell, with gold mouths.

A single bonbonnière only is included in the Inventory of April 16th, 1821.

The list of property (May 5th) shows two. The Emperor left to his son the bonbonnière which he thought was the only one in existence.

No. 4. A bonbonnière of mother-of-pearl, with rings and mouth of gold.

No. 5. Three bonbonnières of plain tortoiseshell.

Nos. 4 and 5 were not found at St. Helena.

The Emperor appears to have had a great consumption of these bonbonnières. He always had one about him, containing liquorice with aniseed, in very small pieces.

These bonbonnières, generally of tortoiseshell, cost 22 to 42 fr. at Biennais', including the mounting.

No. 6. A snuff-box of gold, square, with landscape surrounded with pearls.

Inventory of April 16th, 1817. "A snuff-box of gold, enamelled inside, adorned with a view of Lacken, surrounded with pearls."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 7. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, square, with a medallion in enamel by Petitot.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 16: "Snuff-box of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, set with a portrait of Turenne, painted by Petitot."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 8. A snuff-box of gold, with a medallion of onyx, representing Augustus and Livia.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 14: "Snuff-box of gold, oblong square, set with an antique cameo. Augustus and Livia. The only one existing."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 9. A square snuff-box, of gold, with double lid, medallion of onyx, representing Silenus.

This is the box bequeathed by the Emperor to Lady Holland. It is known that it had been given to General Bonaparte by the Pope Pius VI after the Treaty of Tolentino; in it, during the last days of his illness, the Emperor enclosed a slip of paper, on which he had written with his own hand, "*Napoleon to Lady Holland, a testimony of respect and esteem.*"

He mentions this box in his will, thus: "I leave to Lady Holland the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI gave me at Tolentino."

There exists a representation of the box engraved by Bradley, and a representation of the cameo engraved by Golding; the two engravings are on the same sheet, which also gives a facsimile of the Emperor's slip of paper.

No. 10. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, square, medallion of onyx, the head of a warrior.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 13: "Snuff-box of

tortoiseshell, lined with gold, set with the head of Alexander, antique cameo."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 11. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, square, mounted with five antique medals.

Presented by the Cabinet of Medals. (Inventory of 1821.)

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 8: "Snuff-box of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, mounted with five medallions of the middle ages."

Bequeathed to his son.

See with regard to the snuff-boxes mounted with antique medallions, which came from the Cabinet of Medals, the note at the end of paragraph B.

No. 12. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, with a medallion representing Her Highness Madame Mère.

Given by Madame Mère on the day of the Coronation.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 7: "Snuff-box, oblong square, of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, mounted with a portrait of Madame Mère; an excellent likeness."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 13. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, oval, mounted with gold, engraved stone.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. "*The wisdom of Scipio*, engraved stone on a snuff-box of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, given by Pius VII, on the occasion of the Coronation."

No. 14. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, oval, mounted with gold. Five medals.

Perhaps, in the absence of a more detailed description, this may be the snuff-box which agrees with No. 8 of the Inventory of April 16th.

See No. 11 *above, and the note at the end of this article.*

No. 15. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, oval, mounted with gold. Three medals.

Given by the Cabinet of Medals.

Inventory of April 16th (no number). "A snuff-box mounted with three silver medals, which the Emperor used at St. Helena."

Bequeathed to his son.

This is the box supplied by Biennais in September 1809: "A box of black tortoiseshell, lined with gold, in shape a long square, rounded at the ends, mounted with three silver medals encased in circles of chased gold, with glasses underneath to prevent the snuff passing. 590 francs."

See the note at the end of this article.

No. 16. A snuff-box of gold, with an oval of enamel, and a medallion painted on the enamel.

Given by the town of Genoa.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 12: "Federation of Milan or Creation of the Cisalpine Republic in 1797, painting on enamel, fitted inside with gold."

Bequeathed to his son.

To this snuff-box belongs the following anecdote, related by Roederer (Works, III., 302):—"Some days after (the 18 Brumaire) I learned from M. de Talleyrand that Bonaparte was intending to make me a present. He had received from the city of Milan a gold box, on which was painted in enamel the Federation of Milan. It was said to be a masterpiece. He had ordered it to be surrounded with twenty thousand francs' worth of diamonds. I was hurt at that idea. I begged Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, who saw Bonaparte, and more often Bourrienne, I also begged M. de Talleyrand, to preserve me from this present. I do not know to which of the two I owe the obligation of hearing no more about it."

No. 17. A snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted in gold, oval, portrait of the King and Queen of Westphalia. Given by the King of Westphalia.

Inventory of April 16th. No. 5: "Snuff-box of gold, ornamented with the portraits of the King and Queen of Westphalia."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 18. A snuff-box of gold, round, mounted with four medallions. Given by the Empress Joséphine.

Inventory of April 16th. No. 10: "Snuff-box of gold mounted with four portraits: The Empress Joséphine, Prince Eugène, Queen Hortense, and the King of Holland."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 19. A tooth-pick box, of sandal wood, with a medallion. Given by the Empress Joséphine.

Was not found in 1821.

No. 20. A round box of ivory, with a medallion representing the battle of Marengo. Given by the town of Dieppe.

Inventory of April 16th. No. 22: "Snuff-box of ivory, battle of Marengo, given by the town of Dieppe."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 21. Snuff-box of ivory, with a medallion representing a review of Frederick II. Given by the town of Dieppe.

Inventory of April 16th. No. 27: "Round snuff-box of ivory. Frederick the Great at Potsdam."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 22. Octagonal snuff-box of gold, enamelled, cipher in brilliants. Given by the Grand Seignieur.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 26: "Square box of gold enamelled, ornamented with a cipher of diamonds, which is itself surrounded by diamonds. Given by the Shah of Persia."

Note to the List of Property (5th May): "Persian snuff-box, enriched with precious stones."

Another List: "Persian snuff-box, enriched with diamonds."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 23. Round snuff-box of lava, with medallion of mosaic. Given by the King of Bavaria.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 21: "Round snuff-box of lava, landscape in mosaic."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 24. Round snuff-box of mosaic, mounted in gold. Given by the City of Vienna.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 19: "Plan of Vienna, mosaic snuff-box."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 25. Round snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted with gold, with medals of Peter the Great and Charles XII. Given by the Cabinet of Medals.

Inventory of April 16th. No. 18: "Snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted with a gold medal of large size, Paul I, Emperor of Russia, and at the back one in silver of Charles XII."

Bequeathed to his son.

See note at the end of the article.

No. 26. Round snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted with gold, with medallions of Charles V. and Francis I. Given by the Cabinet of Medals.

Inventoy for April 16th. No. 32: "Round snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted with a gold medal of large size of Charles V, and at the back one in silver of Francis I."

Inventory of April 16th. No. 32: Same description.

This snuff-box appeared as No. 108 in the Museum of San Martino in the Island of Elba with this description:—

"*A round snuff-box, of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, with two silver medals, one of Charles V, the other of Francis I.*

"Given by His Holiness Pope Pius VII. to the Emperor on the occasion of the Coronation (1804)."

It was accompanied by a note by M. Joseph Tastu on the medal of Charles V, by an autograph certificate of His Imperial Highness Prince Jerome attesting the authenticity of the snuff-box given by Pope Pius VII to Napoleon, on the day of his Coronation, the said certificate being dated Quarto, April 28th, 1840.

It was included, under No. 199, in the sale in 1880 at the San Donato Palace, and described in the same way as in the catalogue. In it the dimensions of the snuff-box are given: diameter, 0.085 mm. Diameter of the medal of Charles V, 0.065 mm.; of the medal of Francis I, 0.07 centimètres.

It is extremely doubtful whether the statement as to the donor is correct.

No. 27. Octagonal snuff-box of Vienna pebble, mounted with gold, ornamented with three medals. Given by the City of Vienna.

Inventory of August 16th. No. 29: "Snuff-box of Vienna pebble, ornamented with three silver medals."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 28. Square snuff-box of "Burgos," [?] carved all over. Given by the King of Naples.

Not to be found in 1821.

No. 29. Oval snuff-box in gold.

List of Property, May 5th, 1821: A box of red shagreen containing a snuff-box of plain gold.

No. 30. Round snuff-box of gold, enamelled.

Not to be found in 1821.

No. 31. Oval snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted in gold, and ornamented with two medals. Given by Count Rémusat.

Inventory of 1821. 3rd box: "A snuff-box ornamented with two silver medals, which the Emperor used at St. Helena."

Bequeathed to his son.

This snuff-box agrees with No. 216 of the Musée des Souverains, of which this is the description: *Snuff-box of*

the Emperor Napoleon I., given to the Musée des Souverains by the Emperor Napoleon III. Length, 0.093 *mm.; width,* 0.045 *mm.*

Of oval form, it is of tortoiseshell, and lined with gold. It was made by Biennais, whose name is engraved inside the opening. Two Greek medals, of silver, adorn the lid of the box. They are mounted so that the reverse can be seen inside the box; one is the head of Demetrius I, King of Macedonia . . . the other is the head of Antiochus Hierax, prince of the dynasty of the Seleucides.

No. 32. Oval snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted in gold, ornamented with three antique medals. Given by the Cabinet of Medals.

Inventory of 1821. No. 11: "Oval snuff-box of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, ornamented with three antique medals of gold, among which is to be found that of Cæsar."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 33. Octagonal snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted in gold, and ornamented with four antique medals. Given by the Cabinet of Medals.

Inventory of 1821. No. 4: "Long oval snuff-box, of tortoiseshell lined with gold, ornamented with four medals, among which are Julius Cæsar and Timoleon. The Emperor often made use of this snuff-box."

List of Property. "Oval snuff-box, four medals of silver; Regulus, Sylla, Pompey, Julius Cæsar."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 34. Square snuff-box of gold, ornamented with a stone of cornelian forming a medallion. Given by the King of Naples.

Inventory of 1821. No. 9 *bis*: "Small scent-box of gold, ornamented with a portrait on cornelian of the Queen of Naples."

Bequeathed to his son.

This little box was very nearly taken from Count Montholon, at the Custom-House, when he returned to France.

No. 35. Octagonal snuff-box of gold, ornamented with two medallions representing the Princesses of Spain. Given by the Queen of Spain.

Inventory of 1821. No. 20: "Snuff-box of gold, mounted with two portraits; nieces of the Emperor, daughters of King Joseph."

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 36. Oval snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted with gold, ornamented with a portrait of H.M. the Empress. Sent from Vienna at the time of the marriage.

Inventory of 1821. No. 31: "Snuff-box of tortoiseshell lined with gold. Portrait of the Empress Marie Louise. Snuff-box which the Emperor often carried."

Bequeathed to his son.

At the Musée des Souverains, under No. 217, appeared a snuff-box, of which the following is the description :—

Snuff-box of the Emperor Napoleon I, given to the Musée des Souverains by the Emperor Napoleon III. Length, 0.094 *mm.; width,* 0.046 *mm.*

Oval in shape, it is of tortoiseshell, and lined with gold. The portrait of the Empress Marie Louise, with which it is ornamented, was painted by Isabey. The date of April 2nd, 1810, *inlaid in letters of gold beneath the portrait, recalls one of the days of the week which followed the celebration of the marriage of the Emperor; the cipher, inlaid in gold and silver above the portrait, is composed of the letters N and L, the initials of the names of Napoleon and Marie Louise.*

The snuff-box, which was a present of the young Empress to her illustrious husband, was made by M. E. Milot, whose name is engraved on the mouth of the interior.

It is probable that a certain number of errors have slipped into this notice. To many of those who remember seeing this snuff-box the portrait does not seem to have been by Isabey. The date of April 2nd, 1810, is not intended, as is said, to "recall one of the days of the week which followed the celebration of the marriage," but it records the date of the religious marriage. It is not impossible that the snuff-box may have been given to Napoleon by Marie Louise, but it cannot have been at that date, for Marie Louise, arriving at St. Cloud from Compiègne, had not had time to sit to Isabey. It is, therefore, much more probable from every point of view that the snuff-box No. 127 of the Musée des Souverains is the same as No. 36 of the *Inventory of* 1811, and of the *Inventory of* 1821.

No. 37. Oval snuff-box of tortoiseshell, mounted with gold, ornamented with a portrait of H.M. the King of Rome. Given by the Empress Marie Louise.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. No. 2: "The King of Rome, as a child, miniature by Isabey, snuff-box of tortoiseshell, lined with gold, of which the Emperor made use for many years."

Bequeathed to his son.

This snuff-box of black tortoiseshell lined with gold, ornamented with a chased frame, with an enamel portrait of the King of Rome, was supplied to Marie Louise by Nitot, February 29th, 1812, and cost 600 fr.

No. 38. Oval snuff-box, of tortoiseshell, mounted with gold, with an engraved stone. Given by the Cabinet of Medals.

List of Property. May 9th, 1821: "A box of red shagreen, containing a snuff-box with antique cameos."

The Inventory of 1811 thus contains, in excess of the *Inventory of* 1821, the numbers 3, 4, 5, 19, 28, 29, 30, and 38, which are not identified, or have not been found.

On the other hand, the *Inventory of April 16th*, 1821, enumerates the following objects, which had been bought by the Emperor, or which, for various reasons, were found in his hands at the moment of his death.

"*No. 3. Portrait, mounted with pearls, of the Empress Joséphine, first wife of the Emperor.*"

This portrait belonged to Countess Bertrand. The Emperor sent to ask her for it, so that Marchand might make a copy, and entered it himself in his inventory. Marchand was thus unable to return it to the Countess when she wanted it back, as the Emperor had included it among the objects to be sent to his son.

"*No.* 6. *Small ivory box for tooth-picks, mounted with a portrait of Madame, sent to the Emperor during his stay at St. Helena.*"

"*No.* 12, *bis. Small square box of gold, mounted with an agate.*"

Called in the *List of Property*: Snuff-box surmounted with an agate.

"*No.* 15. *Snuff-box of lapis-lazuli, mounted with a cameo, portrait of the Emperor Napoleon.*

"*No.* 28. *Snuff-box of tortoiseshell lined with gold, mounted with a head of Alexander, of gold, the only one in existence.*"

The Emperor carried this box earlier than 1809, when, in January, Biennais repaired, for 18 fr., "A box of tortoise-shell, arched, on which is a head of Mars in gold."

"*No.* 30. *Bonbonnière of tortoiseshell; the King of Rome praying to God for his father and France.*"

It is known that this miniature, made popular by the engraving, was executed in 1814.

"*Without number. Catalogued in the second case of snuff-boxes sent to Marchand.*"

"*Twelve gold boxes, ornamented with a crowned N in gold.*"

These are boxes for presents.

"*A box of Russian stone, ornamented inside with a portrait.*"

"*An ivory box, ornamented with portraits of Louis XVI, the Queen, and the Dauphiness.*"

"*A round box of tortoiseshell, a hunt at Fontainebleau.*"

"*A gold box, ornamented with a landscape of ivory.*"

These four boxes were found in the cabinet of the King at the time of the Hundred Days.

"*Five* boxes were found in the drawer of the table of Louis XVIII," says Marchand. "One, of malachite, lined with gold, had inside the portrait of Madame de Savoie, wife of that prince; the other, of tortoiseshell, showed the view of a hunt at Fontainebleau; the third, a landscape in ivory, of Dieppe work, on a box of gold, enamelled; the fourth, of black tortoiseshell, had on its lid a willow of ivory, representing the Queen, Louis XVI, the Dauphin and the Dauphiness. Choirs of angels surround this work. *The fifth was a gold box*, enamelled, containing a medal of the King, newly struck, and a silver medal of Pius VII. The Emperor sent me these snuff-boxes, telling me to take care of them. They went to St. Helena, and afterwards returned to the Imperial family after the death of the King of Rome."

The fifth box is not to be found either in the *Inventory of* 1821, or in the *List of Property*.

NOTE ON THE SNUFF-BOXES ORNAMENTED WITH MEDALS OUT OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY.

M. Du Mersan, author of *Les Saltimbanques*, and keeper of the Cabinet of Medals, in a pamphlet published in 1838, accused the Emperor of having despoiled this national establishment for his own benefit. It is true that the same

Du Mersan, in another pamphlet published in 1844, greatly toned down the expressions of his complaint, and simply regretted that Napoleon should have accepted the medals which were offered to him. By combining these differing statements, several of which are contradictory, it is possible to establish the truth without doubt, and at the same time to discover the probable figures on the undescribed medals which adorn the snuff-boxes catalogued under Nos. 11, 14, 15, 31, 32, 33, and 38.

"In 1803," says M. Du Mersan, "the Consuls of the Republic caused to be handed over to them by the keepers of the Cabinet ancient medals, which offered some allusions to the virtues of which they looked on themselves as the types. The First Consul obtained a Marcus Aurelius, an Antonine, and a Hadrian. I do not know why a Domitian was not added.

"The 13th February, 1809, M. de Rémusat, Master of the Wardrobe, with the authorisation of the Minister of the Interior, came to choose some gold medals to ornament a snuff-box intended for his Majesty. He took medals of the most illustrious conquerors and founders of dynasties; those of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, founder of the Greek monarchy in Egypt; Demetrius Poliorcetes; Antiochus the Great; Mithridates I, conqueror of Media; Phraates II, conqueror of Demetrius and of Antiochus; lastly, those of Titus, Trajan, Septimus Severus, and Constantine.

"In the visit which Napoleon, accompanied by Marie Louise, made at the end of 1810 to the Cabinet of Medals, he asked to see the medals of different chiefs of dynasties:

Seleucus, Nicanor, Ptolemy, Lagus, Cæsar, Pompey, Mithridates, Constantine, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antiochus the Great, Phraates II., King of the Parthians. They were offered to him; they adorn a snuff-box."

Here, then, according to M. Du Mersan, in one statement, four medals were taken by the Consul in 1803, five and four in 1809, eleven in 1810. In truth, on the latter he is less strong in his statement. In his pamphlet of 1838 he omits this visit, and it is so much more favourable that several of the medals described as having been given in 1810 did double duty with those chosen by Rémusat in 1809.

It is more than probable that the three medals of 1803 are those which ornament the snuff-box No. 15.

As to the medals chosen in 1809, two appear, as we have seen above, on the box No. 31: "A box of black tortoise-shell, lined with gold, oblong square in form, rounded at the ends, mounted with three silver medals, surrounded with circles of chased gold, and, below, glasses to prevent the snuff from getting to them; price 599 fr."

This is probably the box No. 15.

"Another box, of the same kind, but with flat sides, having on the cover four gold medals, with circles of chased gold; price 595 fr."

This is, incontestably, the octagon box No. 33.

The boxes Nos. 11, 14, and 32 still remain unfound. The following note drawn up by Visconti, probably at the request of the Grand Marshal, or of M. de Rémusat, may enable them to be traced, and allow them to be identified.

NOTE ON SOME GOLD AND SILVER MEDALS SUITABLE FOR ORNAMENTING THE SNUFF-BOXES OF HIS MAJESTY, AND REPRESENTING PORTRAITS OF GREAT MEN.

ROMAN.

Silver, Small Model.—Romulus; Numa; Scipio Africanus; Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse; Sylla; Agrippa.

Gold, Small Model.—Augustus; Titus; Trajan; Hadrian, a great protector of the arts; Antoninus Pius; Marcus Aurelius; Septimus Severus; Aurelianus, the conqueror of Palmyra; Constantine the Great.

Greek Kings.

Silver Medallions: Ptolemy, son of Lagus, founder of the Greek monarchy in Egypt; Lysimachus; Demetrius Poliorcetes; Attalus I, king of Pergamos, conqueror of the Gauls in Asia; Attalus II, a distinguished warrior and great protector of letters and arts; Antiochus the Great.

Silver medals, small model, moderate size: Gelon, king of Syracuse, and conqueror of the Carthaginians in Sicily: Mithridates I, king of the Parthians, conqueror of Media and of a part of Bactria; Phraates II, king of the Parthians, conqueror of Demetrius and of Antiochus VII.

The portraits which the Emperor already had on his snuff-boxes are omitted, such as Alexander the Great, Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, Cæsar, etc.

We here have a recapitulation of all the names cited by M. Du Mersan; the only probability seems to be that the boxes on which the medals chosen by Rémusat, on Visconti's suggestions, appeared, were not made immediately.

In taking these statements literally, and allowing that M. Rémusat borrowed the two medals of the box No. 31 from the Cabinet, it results from the inventories that Napoleon had only twenty-six medals and one cameo on his snuff-boxes, *i.e.*:—

Box No. 11.—5 antique medals.
Box No. 14.—5 antique medals.
Box No. 15.—3 antique medals.
Box No. 25.—2 modern medals.
Box No. 26.—2 modern medals.
Box No. 31.—2 antique medals.
Box No. 32.—3 antique medals.
Box No. 33.—4 antique medals.
Box No. 38.—1 antique cameo.

Consequently, admitting that he received them all from the Cabinet of Medals, this is the extent of the wrong which he did to a public depository.

After Tilsit, by a single gift he had enriched it with 8,465 antique medals, and four folio volumes scarcely suffice to show those he handed to it from 1796 to 1814.

C.—OTHER JEWELS.

No. 1. A Medallion of Onyx, representing the head of the Emperor with an eagle on the reverse.

In a note (1814): "Given to the Master of the Horse" (Caulaincourt).

No. 2. A coin box containing pieces of money.

In a note: "Given by the Viceroy."

These are the coins of Italy, which were placed in the coffin.

No. 3. A velvet box, with gold embroidery, containing three medals (gold, silver, bronze).

In a note: "Given by the City of Paris."

Not found in 1821.

No. 4. A morocco box, containing four medals, two of gold, two of silver.

In a note: "Given by the City of Paris."

Not found in 1821.

No. 5. A morocco box, containing two medals, one of gold, one of silver.

In a note: "Given by the City of Paris."

Not found in 1821.

No. 6. Four pairs of gold shoe buckles.

In the *Inventory of April 16th*, 1821: Third box, "A pair of shoe buckles, which the Emperor used at St. Helena."

Bequeathed to his son.

In the *List of Property* (May 5th) in addition: "A pair of shoe buckles."

The Emperor bequeathed them to Prince Joseph.

Biennais charged the Emperor 563 fr. a pair for gold shoe buckles.

No. 7. Six pairs of gold garter buckles.

In the *Inventory of April 16th*, 1821: Third box, "A pair of garter buckles."

Bequeathed to his son.

In the *List of Property*, in addition: "A pair of garter buckles."

The Emperor left these to Prince Lucien.

Biennais charged for a gold garter buckle, with gold points, 29 fr.; with steel points, 33 fr. a pair.

No. 8. Two pairs of gold stock buckles.

In the *Inventory of April 16th*, 1821: Third box, "A pair of stock buckles of gold."

Bequeathed to his son.

In the *List of Property*, in addition: "A stock buckle."

The Emperor left it to Prince Jérôme.

No. 9. An agrafe of diamonds.

Not found in 1821.

No. 10. Three gold repeaters.

At St. Helena the Emperor had only two watches, those described in the *Inventory of April 16th*:—

"Two watches of gold belonging to the Emperor, one having a chain of the Empress Marie Louise's hair, a small seal with an N crowned; the other without either chain or seal."

The Emperor bequeathed them to his son, and ordered Marchand to have a chain made in Paris of his hair for the second watch.

On the 1st January, 1819, the Emperor gave Grand Marshal Bertrand one of his gold watches, saying: "Take it, Bertrand; it struck two o'clock the night of Rivoli, when I ordered Joubert to attack."

When leaving the Island of Elba, at the moment when Marchand was drawing up the inventory of the articles which he left to Madame Mère, the Emperor came across a watch by Lépine, similar to the one he was wearing: "Take this watch," said he, "I give it to you. It dates from my Consulate." To this watch was attached a gold chain and a key.

This is the watch which Marchand offered to the Musée des Souverains, where it appeared as No. 382. M. Barbet de Jouy unfortunately gave no description of it.

With regard to repairs done to watches, we can only trace those made in February and April, 1806, by Mugnier, to the different watches of the Emperor, one of which was a great carriage watch, 336 francs. It must be remarked, in passing, that if this silver watch which we believe to agree with one of those under No. 14 is the carriage watch repaired by Mugnier in February and April, 1806, it cannot possibly be the alarum of Frederick the Great. But yet in the *Inventory of my effects, which Marchand is to keep to hand over to my son*, the Emperor no doubt says: "My Alarum. It is the alarum of Frederick the Great, which I took at Potsdam (*in box No.* 3)," and there is to be found in the inventory of the box no other watch than this.

No. 11. A watch with four dials.

In a note: "Given to Murat at Smolensko, November 10th, 1812."

No. 12. Three gold watch-chains.

See above, No. 10, for one of these chains.

No. 13. Four watch keys.

See above, No. 10.

No. 14. Two silver repeaters.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821: "A great silver watch; this watch used to be put in the Emperor's carriage on campaign. The key is attached by a gold chain."

This watch was bequeathed by the Emperor to his son. It was given to Prince Victor Napoleon by the Duke of Padua, who had it from his father.

Marchand adds to the note dictated by the Emperor: "This is the alarum of Frederick the Great." This assertion will be seen controverted in the above note No. 10.

The other watch was not found in 1821.

No. 15. Three silver hunting-flasks.

List of property, May 5th, 1821: "Three brandy flasks, two of which are silver, one silver-gilt."

List drawn up by Marchand for the King of Rome: "Two brandy flasks of silver, which the *chasseur* carried on campaign, and another of green shagreen." The last flask appears on the list as "flask of silver gilt," and has only the ring of silver gilt. The body of the flask is of green morocco. It remained in the possession of M. de Montholon.

Bequeathed to his son.

No. 16. Twelve pairs of silver spurs.

On the 5th May, 1821, the Emperor only remained in possession of three pairs of silver spurs. One pair was put on his boots in the tomb, two bequeathed to his son, a single spur fell to the share of Marchand. The Emperor had four pairs of spurs when he arrived at St. Helena, but he gave one pair to Las-Cases the 10th January, 1816—the spurs in which he had gone through the campaign of Dresden, and through that of Paris. "Here, *mon cher*,"

said he, "these are for you, I used them at Champaubert." One of these spurs, given by Baron E. de Las-Cases to J. B. Lousada, jun., Esq., appeared at the Musée des Souverains under No. 208. It measured 0.110 in length, and 0.070 in width of opening.

A pair of spurs supplied by Biennais cost 54 francs.

No. 17. Two cases of scissors.

Not found in 1821.

No. 18. Four small spy-glasses.

Inventory of April 16th, 1821. 1st. Second box of snuff-boxes: "Two small glasses, which the Emperor used with the armies." 2nd. Third box: "A small glass of the number of those which the Emperor used with the armies."

Bequeathed to his son.

List of Property, May 5th. In addition to these three small spy-glasses put in the inventory with the snuff-boxes: "A small spy-glass," given, at the division, to Count Montholon. These glasses may be those supplied by Lerebours in September and October, 1806: "Two spy-glasses of silver gilt, 21 lines aperture, drawing out, costing 440 francs; two of 18 lines aperture, costing 360 francs."

No. 19. Two pipe tubes of jasmine wood, with amber mouthpieces.

Not found in the inventories of St. Helena.

No. 20. Two pieces of Persian stuff.

List of Property, May 5th: "Two pieces of cloth of gold from Constantinople." No information as to what became of it in the division of property.

No. 21. Four Turkey carpets.

The Emperor no doubt disposed of two of these carpets; at least, he only thought of the two which were deposited with Comte Turenne in Paris, one of which he left to the Queen of Naples, the other to Queen Hortense.

D.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

No. 1. Two large travelling cases of silver gilt.

One of these cases is of course the one which the Emperor left to his son, and which he described in these terms:—"My gold travelling case, the one which I used on the mornings of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, the Island of Lobau, Moskowa, Montmirail; from this point of view I wish it to be valued by my son." (Count Bertrand has had charge of it since 1814.)

This travelling case contains three series of articles:—

(1) Articles for the work cabinet, amounting to sixteen.

(2) Articles for the toilet, amounting to forty-nine.

(3) Articles for use at meals, amounting to forty-four.

We have not the price which was paid to Biennais; some of the articles comprised in it are marked with a B, which

proves that they were bought previously to the Empire. The greater number of the articles, however, bear the Imperial arms, but if the Emperor, as he said, made use of it during the campaign of the year XIV, it was quite at the beginning of the year XIII that he had it completed, and the invoice has not yet been found. An idea, however, can be formed if it is remembered that a travelling case bought by the Emperor on his return from Spain in 1809, composed only of sixty-eight pieces, nineteen of which were for the table, was charged 4,062 fr. for by Biennais.

This travelling case, before reaching the Museum of the City of Paris, where it is at the present day preserved, had quite a history. This is what the Grand Marshal says about it: "In April 1814 the Emperor ordered M. de Turenne, Master of the Wardrobe, to examine his travelling cases and to choose one of which he wished to make me a present. M. de Turenne proposed to His Majesty to give me his large case, which was very difficult to carry about. The Emperor graciously made me a present of it. In 1815, at Rochefort, when he had the intention of embarking for America, the Emperor said to me that it would be very agreeable to him if I would return his great battle travelling case, and that he would pay me the value. I replied that I would willingly return it, because he wished it, but that I attached too great value to this splendid present to renounce the proprietorship of it. The Emperor, animated in his last moments with the desire to surround his son with all the recollections which might recall to him the glory of his father, expressed the intention of adding this

case to all the other objects which he should leave to his only legitimate descendant." After the death of the King of Rome the Grand Marshal considered that the travelling-case,—and still more the arms of the Emperor!—had become his personal property. He disposed of the arms and of the travelling-case in contempt of the indisputable rights of Napoleon's family, and in spite of the protestations of King Joseph on June 4th, 1840, he handed over the arms of the Emperor to Louis Philippe, and on the same day made a gift of the travelling case to the city of Paris.

This travelling case was deposited in 1853 in the Musée des Souverains, still remaining the property of the city, and after the Musée des Souverains, was placed at the Musée Thiers. It was restored to the City and forms part of the Musée Carnavalet.

I am ignorant of the fate of the second large travelling case of silver gilt. One was bought of Biennais for 4,062 fr. in January 1809; the different articles were contained in a chest of solid mahogany with flush handles, and a lock of trefoil shape. All the articles are of silver gilt; they are very simple in ornamentation, and the only piece in which chasing has any place is the salver for breakfast, with a border of eagles and crowns. The other pieces, although very well executed, do not at all excel Biennais' ordinary manufacture, and are only distinguished by the Imperial arms, with which they are engraved. This case cost 4,062 fr. But on the same invoice of Biennais we find this note:—"Putting in order the great travelling case, the travelling case of silver gilt, two little travelling cases for

portmanteau." The travelling case of silver gilt therefore existed before 1809, and is not the one which was supplied at that date.

No. 2. Three large travelling cases of silver.

One of these cases is probably the one which the Emperor designates as No. 4 of § III. of List A: "My travelling case for the toilet," and in the *Inventory of Effects* which Marchand was to send on to the King of Rome: "My silver travelling case, the one on my table, fitted up with all its implements, razors, etc." Marchand appends this note: "Several articles are missing from this case, which the Emperor had not made use of for a long time. The box which contains the heart of the Emperor, enclosed in the tomb, belongs to this case." This case was bequeathed by Napoleon to his son.

We find two large travelling cases of silver which the Emperor bought subsequently to 1809, one at 1,200 fr., the other, much more complete, at 3,730 fr. 94 cent., but in the absence of detailed particulars as to the case bequeathed by the Emperor to his son, it would be hazardous to attempt an identification.

No. 3. Seven small travelling cases to go into portmanteaus.

No particulars are to be found in the *Inventory of May 5th* regarding these cases to pack into portmanteaus, and it is certain that no box of this kind was to be found at St. Helena. But yet the number was curiously large, and the

Emperor bought more than twelve of them in the course of a very few years. Each of them cost 400 fr., a single one 450 fr. This kind of case is of the current type, with a double bottom for the flasks and sponge boxes, etc., and an upper flap for cutlery, which was reduced to a very few items. Prince Victor Napoleon possesses the upper compartment of a case of this type; he received it from the Duke of Padua, but the latter made a mistake in thinking that this case had been used by the Emperor at St. Helena. A reproduction of it can be seen in the *Figaro-Illustré* of the month of April, 1890.

No. 4. A travelling case containing a complete breakfast set.

Not to be found in the *Inventory of* 1821.

No. 5. Two bidets of silver gilt.

List of Property, May 5th, 1821: "A bidet and a syringe of silver gilt." The Emperor expressly left to his son his bidet of silver gilt, but in the list drawn up by Marchand of the articles deposited with him, we find only: "A bidet the basin of metal, and a syringe of silver gilt."

In August and September, 1808, Biennais supplied: A bidet of silver gilt, the syringe and its nozzles, the basin, the sponge box, all of silver gilt; two flasks of crystal cut in diamonds, and the arms engraved on each piece, 1,904 fr. The case of mahogany, with brass ornaments let in, lock and castors gilt, and a case of cowskin, lined with serge, 452 fr.

I do not find when the second was supplied.

No. 6. A silver bidet.

List of Property, May 5th, 1821: "Two ordinary bidets with metal basins, apportioned one to Montholon and one to Marchand."

In January, 1809, Biennais did up the silver bidet and its case like new. 60 fr.

No. 7. A pewter bidet.

Possibly the second bidet, with basin of metal, above.

In January, 1809, supplied by Biennais: A bidet of mahogany, basin silvered, syringe of fine pewter, compartments of leather. 300 fr.

No. 8. A silver syringe.

List of Property, May 5th, 1821: Two silver syringes.

No. 9. Sundry silver-gilt toilet articles.

No. 10. A silver syringe.

No. 11. A silver warming pan.

Not found in 1821.

No. 12. Two copper warming pans

Not found in 1821.

No. 13. Two night-lamps of silver.

Not found in 1821.

No. 14. Two silver-gilt pans for evaporating perfumes.

List of Property, May 5th, 1821: "A vaporiser of silver gilt."

Bequeathed by the Emperor to his son.

No. 15. A vaporiser of silver for scent.

Not found in 1821.

No. 16. Four cases of razors.

Biennais repaired in 1809 two boxes, of six razors each, and lined them with green velvet; the same with two boxes of twelve razors, which makes up the four boxes.

On the other hand, in 1821, there was found in the *List of Property* a box of razors which was divided between Marchand and Montholon.

No. 17. Three great boxes for snuff, shutting with a key.

The Emperor bequeathed to his son, "A small box filled with his snuff," and Marchand specifies "a small mahogany box containing snuff." Is it one of these boxes?

No. 18. An oak box for snuff, containing 12 kilogrammes.

Not found in 1821.

No. 19. Four canisters of pewter, for snuff.

On March 30th, 1809, Boicervoise, pewterer, supplied five boxes of pewter furnished with stoppers and screw

keys, costing together 54 fr., and containing (each ?) three kilos. 250 grammes of snuff.

No. 20. A mahogany box for aloe-wood.

Not found in 1821.

No. 21. Two morocco bags for aloe-wood.

Not found in 1821.

The aloe-wood cost 72 fr. an ounce, and was supplied by Biennais. The Emperor used a great deal of it in his perfume-burners.

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